THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

WITHDRAWN
University Libraries
University of Memphis

PUBLICATIONS

—OF THE—

Mississippi Historical Society

Volume XI

PUBLICATIONS

—OF—

THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
FRANKLIN L. RILEY
Secretary

VOL. XI

University, Mississippi
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
1910

Neither the Editor nor the Society assumes any responsibility for the opinions or statements of contributors

PREFACE.

This Volume of *Publications* contains eighteen new contributions to the history of the State. Although some of them treat of subjects that have more than a local significance, all of them will doubtless interest students of Mississippi history.

The members of the Society will appreciate the brief sketches and pictures of recently deceased members, most of whom have made worthy contributions to other volumes of this series and all of whom have rendered valuable services to the State. Another contribution presents the closing chapter of one of the most celebrated boundary controversies in the history of Mississippi.

The most notable feature of the volume is the large number of contributions on the local history of reconstruction. A partial justification of the interest shown in this new and important phase of work will be found in an Appendix to the Proceedings. So far as is known to the editor, the University of Mississippi is the first educational institution to foster investigation in this particular field. It is hoped that the evidences of success shown by the contributions published in this and the preceding volume will encourage students in the colleges and universities throughout the South to attempt similar lines of investigation.

This volume also contains contributions on two historic interstate thoroughfares that have exerted much influence upon the history of Mississippi. The last two articles will doubtless be read with pleasure by students who are interested in the history of the Indians of the State.

FRANKLIN L. RILEY.

University, Mississippi.
December, 1910.

CONTENTS.

Preface 5
Contents 7
Officers for 1910-1911 8
1 Proceedings of the Tenth Public Meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society, by *Prof. Franklin L. Riley*..... 9
2 Charles Betts Galloway, by *Hon. Edward Mayes*..... 21
3 The Mississippi River as a Political Factor in American History, by *Prof Franklin L. Riley*..... 31
4 Demarcation of the Mississippi-Louisiana Boundary, by *Prof. Franklin L. Riley*..... 61
5. Evolution of Wilkinson County, by *Col. J. H. Jones*..... 75
6 Antebellum Times in Monroe County, by *Judge R. C. Beckett*.... 87
7 Reconstruction in Monroe County, by *Mr. E. F. Puckett*..... 103
8 Reconstruction in Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, by *Miss Hattie Magee*..... 163
9 Reconstruction in Newton County, by *Miss Ruth Watkins*..... 205
10 Reconstruction in Pontotoc County, by *Mr. M. G. Abney*..... 229
11 Reconstruction in Leake County, by *Miss Nannie Lacey*..... 271
12 Reconstruction in De Soto County, by *Prof. Irby C. Nichols*..... 295
13 Beginning of a New Period in the Political History of Mississippi, by *Prof. G. H. Brunson*..... 317
14 The French Trading Post and the Chocchuma Village in East Mississippi, by *Mr. H. S. Halbert*..... 325
15 David Ward Sanders, by *Gov. E. F. Noel*..... 331
16 Marking the Natchez Trace, by *Mrs. Dunbar Rowland*..... 345
17 The Mayhew Mission to the Choctaws, by *Col. W. A. Love*..... 363
18 General Jackson's Military Road, by *Col. W. A. Love*..... 403
19 Index 419

OFFICERS FOR 1910-1911.

PRESIDENT:

DR. R. W. JONES, University, Mississippi.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

GOVERNOR E. F. NOEL, Jackson, Mississippi.

HON. GEORGE J. LEFTWICH, Aberdeen, Mississippi.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

DR. FRANKLIN L. RILEY, University, Mississippi.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the officers)

PROFESSOR G. H. BRUNSON, Agricultural College, Mississippi.

HON. J. M. WHITE, West Point, Mississippi.

HON. J. R. PRESTON, Jackson, Mississippi.

DR. J. E. WALMSLEY, Jackson, Mississippi.

HON. J. S. SEXTON, Hazlehurst, Mississippi.

All persons who are interested in the work of the Society and desire to promote its objects are invited to become members.

There is no initiation fee. The only cost to members is, annual dues, $2.00, or life dues, $30.00. Members receive all Publications of the Society free of charge.

Address all communications to the Secretary and Treasurer of the Mississippi Historical Society, University P. O., Mississippi.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH PUBLIC MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By Franklin L. Riley, Secretary.

The tenth public meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held in the Senate Chamber, at Jackson, on the evening of January 14, 1910, beginning at 7:45 P. M. Shortly after its former meeting, the Society had sustained an irreparable loss in the death of its faithful and efficient President, General Stephen D. Lee. In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, Dr. R. W. Jones and Governor E. F. Noel, a motion was unanimously carried requesting Hon. R. H. Thompson, of Jackson, Mississippi, to preside at this meeting.

The exercises opened with prayer by Rev. M. S. Smith, of Collins, Mississippi. Hon. V. Otis Robinson, of Jackson, Mississippi, delivered an address of welcome, reviewing in an appreciative way the valuable work which the Society has accomplished since its reorganization in 1898. A brief and appropriate response to the address of welcome was then made by Hon. M. McCullough, of Brookhaven, Mississippi. The following committees were announced by the Chair with a request that they make a report before the adjournment of the meeting:

Committee on Nominations—Hon. I. L. Dorroh, Hon. M. McCullough and Major R. A. Dean.

Committee on Resolutions—President J. R. Preston and Hon. A. C. Anderson.

Committee on Necrology—Hon. T. A. McWillie, Hon. Frank Johnston, Professor George H. Brunson, Hon. Joseph Hirsh, Hon. George J. Leftwich and Mr. G. G. Hurst.

Judge Edward Mayes presented a valuable contribution, entitled "Life and Services of Bishop Charles B. Galloway" (see page 21). Dr. J. E. Walmsley then made a brief report of his investigations on "Early History of the City of Jackson." Professor G. H. Brunson, of Mississippi College, read a con-

tribution on "Beginning of a New Period in the Political History of Mississippi" (see page 317).

By special request the Secretary then introduced Miss Hattie Magee, one of his former students, who has done successful work in the local history of reconstruction. In this connection the Secretary spoke briefly of the importance of this work and of the methods which have been successfully followed for a number of years in the University of Mississippi, and the valuable results achieved thereby. He called attention to the fact that much of the work on this period of Southern history has been misdirected and illogical, since it has been done almost entirely from the standpoint of the various State governments, and he insisted that the most important and pressing need at this time is a thorough, discriminating, and impartial treatment of the local history of reconstruction (see page 12).

Miss Magee then read an abridged report of her contribution on "Reconstruction in Lawrence County" (see page 163). The following contributions were presented by title: "Ante-bellum Times in Monroe County" (see page 87), by Judge R. C. Beckett, of West Point, Mississippi; "Life and Military Services of Major D. W. Sanders" (see page 331), by Governor E. F. Noel, Jackson, Mississippi; "Location of the Water Boundary between Mississippi and Louisiana" (see page 61), by Franklin L. Riley, of University, Mississippi; "The Natchez Trace" (see page 345), by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, of Jackson, Mississippi; "General Jackson's Military Road" (see page 403), by Colonel William A. Love, of Crawford, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in De Soto County" (see page 295), by Professor Irby C. Nichols, of A. and M. College, Texas; "Reconstruction in Monroe County" (see page 103), by Mr. E. F. Puckett, of Oxford, Mississippi; "Evolution of Wilkinson County, Mississippi" (see page 75), by Colonel J. H. Jones, of Woodville, Mississippi, and "The Mayhew Mission to the Choctaws" (see page 363), by Colonel William A. Love, of Crawford, Mississippi.

The report of the Committee on Necrology, which was then presented by Hon. T. A. McWillie, will be found in Appendix II.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following report which was unanimously adopted:

1. The Historical Society appreciates the courtesy of the Senate shown in granting the Senate Chamber for holding the annual meeting.

2. We endorse and commend the work done by Secretary Riley, to whose zealous labor the life and progress of the Society is mainly due, and cordially thank those members who have contributed papers to this meeting.

3. We thank the Legislature for past financial support, and beg them to continue their liberal provision for the prosecution of the great work being done for the preservation of the history of the Commonwealth.

Mississippi's history, if preserved, will inspire her coming generations with pride. The State should make her record of heroes and their deeds to-day, if her sons are expected to feel a pride in her glory to-morrow.

J. R. Preston, *Chairman;*
A. C. Anderson.

The report of the Committee on Nomination was also unanimously adopted. It reads as follows:

To the President of the Mississippi Historical Society:

We, your Committee on Nominations, beg leave to make the following report:

We recommend the following gentlemen for the respective offices of the Mississippi Historical Society for the ensuing biennial term: President, Dr. R. W. Jones; First Vice-President, Gov. E. F. Noel; Second Vice-President, Hon. G. J. Leftwich; Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. F. L. Riley.

We also recommend the following gentlemen, other than the officers, to constitute the Executive Committee: Hon. J. R. Preston, Hon. J. M. White, Prof. G. H. Brunson, Dr. J. E. Walmsley, Hon. J. S. Sexton.

Respectfully submitted,

I. L. Dorroh,
M. McCullough,
R. A. Dean.

The Secretary made a general report of the work accomplished by the Society since its reorganization, emphasizing the work of the last biennial period. The Society then adjourned subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

APPENDIX I.

REMARKS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF COUNTY HISTORIES OF RECONSTRUCTION.

By Franklin L. Riley.

It seems to me that our investigators have been working at the wrong end of the history of reconstruction. It will be found that the acute points of irritation during this period were largely the localities where the reconstruction régime came in close daily contact with the rank and file of citizens. As the State government was more or less remote, the iniquities of governors and legislatures were matters of little concern to many people who kept a close watch on the administration of county and municipal affairs. Some of the most effective reconstruction machinery was brought into use in local contests because they provided for many times as many spoilsmen as did the State government after the discontinuance of the appointive system. Furthermore, political strength in the State government came to be predicated largely on the extent to which the party in power was able to control the counties and municipalities and the elections held therein. It was, therefore, in these local campaigns that the resourcefulness of both the friends and the foes of the reconstruction régime was taxed to the utmost.

Certain of the advanced students in the University of Mississippi have for years been engaged upon original investigations in the local history of reconstruction in this State. Their work has brought most gratifying results, and it will continue until practically every county and municipality in the State shall have been carefully worked, and the rapidly disappearing facts relating to this important period shall have been published for permanent preservation. A few of these studies have already appeared in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society.* They will be ultimately published in a separate volume under the title, *A Local History of Reconstruction in Mississippi.*

These studies are intended to treat, among other things, of the following subjects: government, including the personnel of public officials with their public acts; election methods, including political campaigns, joint debates, newspaper controversies, etc.; social and racial disturbances; secret organizations, including sketches of local Ku Klux Klans, Loyal Leagues, etc., with definite results of the operations of each; educational and religious conditions; economic conditions, including forms of contracts, methods of controlling labor, and the net results of farming operations. Statistical tables are also carefully prepared showing the local rates of taxation, the amount of land sold for taxes, registration by races, local votes in each election by parties, educational and agricultural statistics for each year from 1865-'76.

The major part of the work of gathering facts is done by students during their summer vacations. Information is obtained by personal interviews with men of all classes and of both races, by consulting the public records of counties and municipalities, and local contemporary newspapers, diaries and letters. In fact, the students who undertake this work are expected to spend much time in the communities about which they write and to gather facts from every available source. It

might be said incidentally that each student usually works the reconstruction history of his home county.

During the regular session the notes collected in the preceding summer are organized into connected narratives under the personal direction of an instructor. He advises the students about methods of treatment and aids them in the solution of problems that arise from contradictions or discrepancies in statements. As the narrative progresses each conclusion is carefully scrutinized and tested in the light of the facts gathered from the authorities consulted, all students working on the same phase of the subject at the same time. The many striking contrasts presented by adjoining counties prevent the exercises from degenerating into a monotonous routine.

When each study is completed it is published as a serial article in a county newspaper, with a request from the writer for additional facts and corrections with a view to making the narrative historically accurate before its final publication by the Historical Society. In this way parties who may feel aggrieved over any misrepresentation, either real or imaginary, are given ample opportunity to present their cases before the record is closed and the final verdict recorded.

The interest of the students in this work is indicated by the fact that some of those who have gone through this rather severe discipline have expressed a desire to extend their work to other counties after leaving the University. It is believed that they will become efficient recruits to the ranks of investigators who will contribute regularly to the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society.*

APPENDIX II.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NECROLOGY.

Your Committee on Necrology beg leave to call to the attention of the Society the loss of members it has sustained by death. Those who have fallen under the scythe of the mighty Reaper and themselves passed into the realm of history were not only prominent in this Society, but as well in our State and country, men who bore themselves nobly in positions of great honor and responsibility and have left behind them an imperishable fame.

Of these we would first mention that true shepherd of souls, the great divine, the broad-minded philanthropist, the learned scholar, the brilliant orator and writer, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, the influence of whose life still lingers among us like a benediction from on high.

Bishop Galloway was actively identified with the Society from its organization until the time of his death. During this entire period he was a member of the Executive Committee. The titles of four articles which he contributed to the *Publications* of the Society will be found in Volume X, page 494.

We have also to mourn the passing of the illustrious soldier and patriot, General Stephen D. Lee, whose commanding virtues and important public services were supplemented by personal qualities that idolized him in the eyes of his countrymen, making of him a veritable hero of romance, a good knight and true from spur to plume.

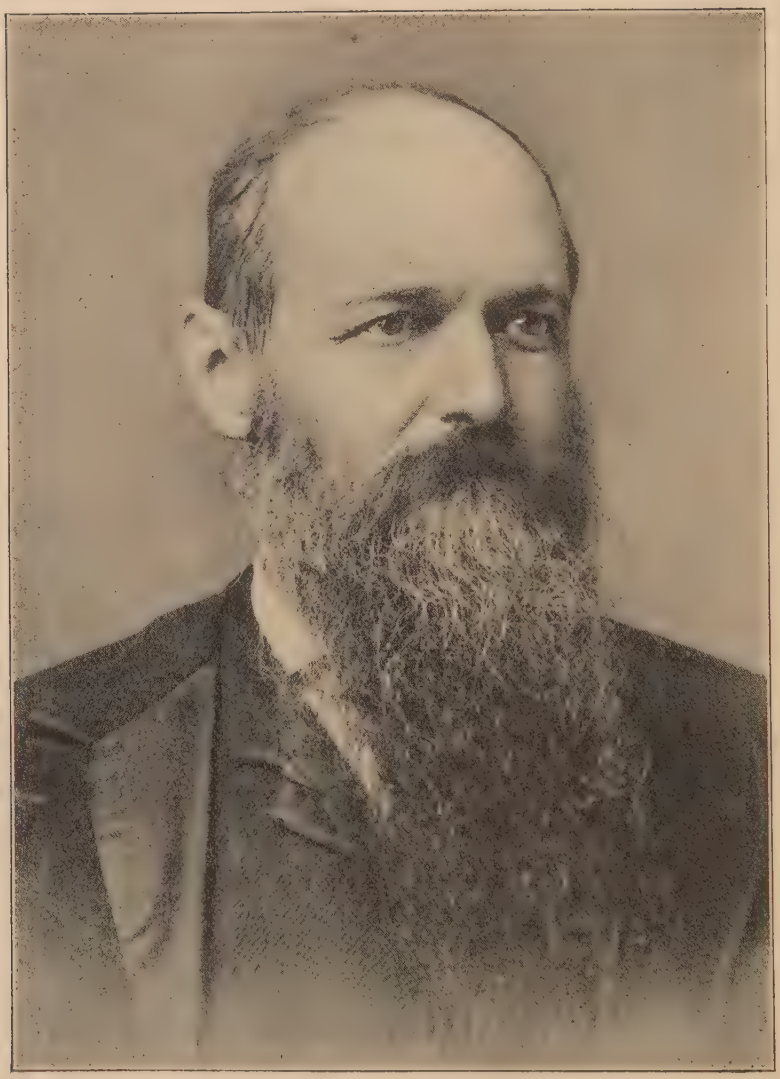
General Lee was President of this Society from 1898 until the day of his death. He rendered much valuable service, as will be seen by consulting Volume X of the *Publications* of the Society, pages 37 and 495.

Another whose loss we deplore moved in a different sphere, but also wore a well-earned fame. His life was dedicated to the cause of justice, and the sagacity and rare moral sense that he brought to its service were tempered by a benevolence that so made him the friend of his kind that the whole land mourned when it became known that the great heart of Judge Solomon S. Calhoun had been forever stilled by the cold hand of death.

Judge Calhoun was also identified with this Society from the year 1899 to the end of his life. He prepared a valuable article, which appears in Volume VI of the *Publications,* pages 129-141, under the title, "Causes and Events that Led to the Calling of the Constitutional Convention of 1890."

In the death of the late Murray F. Smith a notable figure passed from the stage of life. He was a distinguished public man and a lawyer of great ability, and personally so attractive that it is hard to say of him whether in the feeling he inspired, admiration or affection predominated.

Mr. Smith was an interested member of the Society from the year 1901. He often expressed a desire to contribute to its *Publications,* but was unable to do so on account of the exacting duties of his profession. He was particularly interested in the preservation of the important facts connected with the Constitutional Convention of 1890, of which he was a member. As early as 1901 he assisted the Secretary of the Society in devising a plan for a complete history of that important convention. As a result of this, Captain J. S. McNeilly, Judge Calhoon and Col. J. H.



JUDGE S. S. CALHOON.

Jones prepared important contributions for Volume VI of the *Publications.*

The Hon. Robert E. Houston, who has also laid down the burden of mortality, was widely and favorably known as a lawyer and legislator. He rendered good service to his State, throughout which he was much admired. His bright and genial nature won him friends in every quarter.

Mr. Houston was connected with the Society from the time of its reorganization, in 1898, until his death. He was always deeply interested in its maintenance and progress, and was one of its most valuable members.

Memorial sketches of the deceased members above mentioned will appear in the next volume of the *Publications* of the Society, the duty of preparing which has been assigned as follows to the several members of your committee: Sketch of Bishop Galloway assigned to Mr. G. G. Hurst; sketch of General Lee assigned to Prof. George H. Brunson; sketch of Judge Calhoon assigned to Hon. Frank Johnston; sketch of Hon. Murray F. Smith assigned to Hon. Joseph Hirsh; sketch of Hon. Robert E. Houston assigned to Hon. George J. Leftwich.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of Committee,

T. A. McWillie,
Chairman.

Sketch of Judge S. S. Calhoon.

By Frank Johnston.

Judge S. S. Calhoon was descended from a distinguished Virginia family. He was born in Kentucky in 1838. In the same year his family came to Mississippi. Judge Calhoon took an active and prominent part in the public affairs of the State. He has an admirable record as a Confederate soldier. Soon after the War of Secession he was appointed District Attorney for what was then known as the Fifth Judicial District, to fill an unexpired term. He was afterwards elected to the full term in 1868, but was deposed by the Military State Government, as he was unable to take the test oath then required.

In 1876 he was appointed Circuit Judge by Governor Stone, and served until 1882, when he resigned.

In 1900 he was appointed to the Supreme Court, where he served until his death, which occurred in 1908.

Judge Calhoon was president of the Constitutional Convention of 1890 that adopted the present Constitution of the State, which embodies the franchise provisions that eliminated the negro vote as a factor in Mississippi.

Judge Calhoon's most notable public work was in the political campaign in the State that culminated in the calling of the Constitutional Convention by the Legislature of 1890, and in his capacity as a member, and as president, of that body of notable and distinguished men.

The selection of Judge Calhoon as president of the Convention was an admirable one, as he was eminently fitted and equipped temperamentally, and by long professional and judicial training, for the conservative,

logical and dispassionate treatment of difficult and complicated questions, not only of constitutional law, but of matters of political diplomacy. He was a man of broad and comprehensive thought, a high sense and love of justice, and he was unselfish and patriotic in an eminent degree.

To his sagacity, conservative and diplomatic skill is due, in a large measure, the final concord and agreement that was reached between the opposing views of the membership of the Convention in the adoption of the franchise provisions of the present State Constitution.

It is not possible, within the limits of the present tribute to Judge Calhoon's life and memory, to give more than an outline of his character. He was a man of the highest sense of personal honor, singularly and conspicuously unselfish and patriotic, modest and retiring in his disposition, considerate in all things of others, devoted and loyal to his friends, and magnanimous and tolerate in respect to those who differed with him, in matters of opinion; a man of great directness and candor, and fearlessly consistent in his loyalty to his ideals of public and private duties, and the obligations of a man and a citizen.

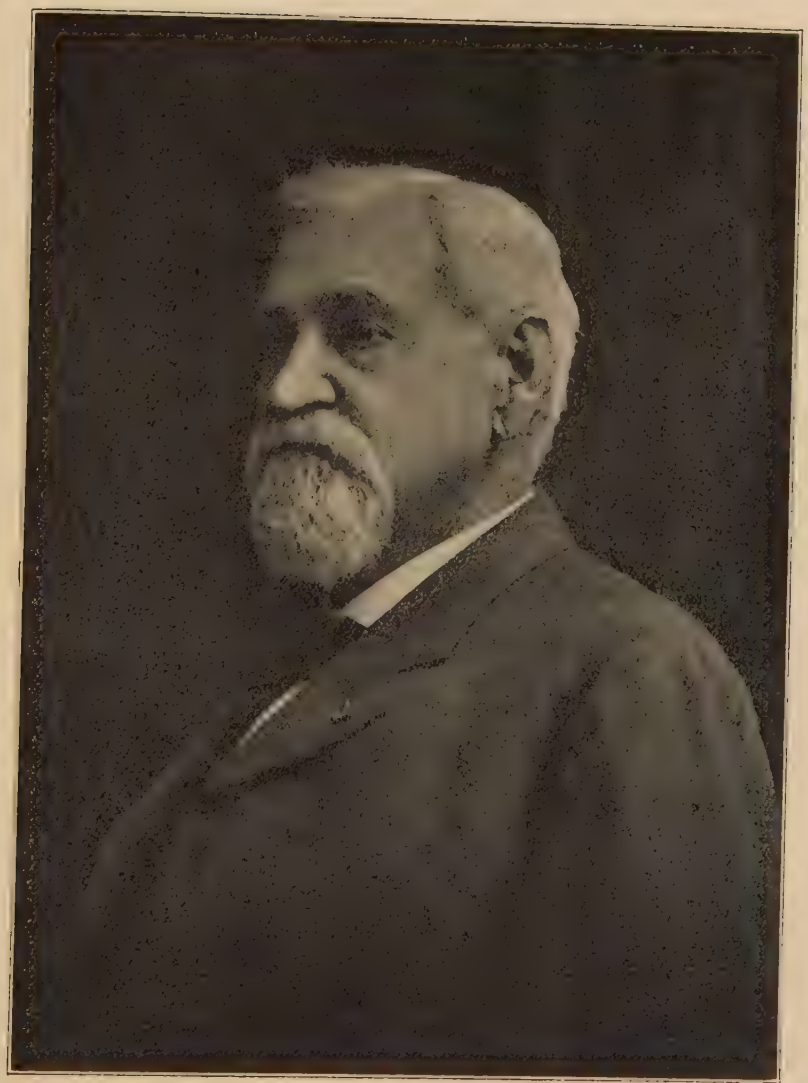
Judge Calhoun justly merits a high place in the history of Mississippi, for his devotion to the public interests of the State, for his patriotic public work, for his high ideals of citizenship, and his nobility of character.

Sketch of General Stephen Dill Lee.

By George H. Brunson.

Stephen Dill Lee, son of Dr. Thomas and Caroline (Allison) Lee, was born in Charleston, S. C., September 22, 1833. With others who achieved distinction, he was graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1854. Active service on the western frontier and against Florida Indians brought him up to the war between the States, when he resigned from the United States Army and was made captain of South Carolina volunteers in the Southern Army. General Lee served during the terrible Civil War with equal and marked ability in every department of the service. His efficiency as an officer was recognized both by President Davis and by General R. E. Lee. Promotion on merit was rapid from captain to lieutenant-general in the Confederate Army. At his death, May 28, 1908, General Lee was commander-in-chief of the Confederate Veterans. Throughout his service as a soldier he was prompt, aggressive, sagacious and fearless.

The services of General Lee in civil and social activities were no less varied and distinguished than in military. Having been stationed in Mississippi during the latter part of the war, he settled in 1865 at Columbus, Mississippi, where he had married Miss Regina Harrison, the accomplished daughter of Hon. James T. Harrison. Twice he was called to serve his adopted State in civil capacity, once as a State Senator from Lowndes County, then as member of the Constitutional Convention of 1890. But his most enduring usefulness to the State and to the South was his service as president of the Mississippi Agricultural College, of



GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE.

HON. MURRAY F. SMITH.

which institution he was the first president with a term of nineteen years. His name is a cherished tradition in this growing institution and is called in college circles with reverence. It is fitting that the magnificent administration building, just being completed, should be dedicated to his name, and that a splendid life-size oil portrait should grace the chapel hall for the inspiration of the thousand or more students who assemble there daily for morning devotions. Upon his appointment as a member of the Vicksburg National Park Commission by President McKinley he resigned the presidency of the A. & M. College in 1899. In his later years General Lee devoted much time and interest to historical work. As President of the Mississippi Historical Society, from its organization in 1898, and as president of the board of trustees of the Department of Archives and History, he zealously encouraged the work of preserving the records of past events and of writing the true history of the State and of the South. To the latter he was also a large contributor, and in both capacities his noble character secured a recognition of the institutions over which he presided at a time when appreciation of their worth to the State was less than it is now.

With increase in years also came remarkable breadth of mental horizon, wealth of sympathy, and a ripeness of Christian virtues. This knightly gentleman, chivalrous soldier and devout Christian leaves a noble impress upon the youth of his State, and upon the whole Southland, which shall not be effaced to the end of time.

Sketch of Hon. Murray F. Smith.

By Joseph Hirsh.

Murray F. Smith, one of the most distinguished citizens of Mississippi during the past quarter of a century, was born at Milton, North Carolina, on the 17th day of January, 1850, and removed to this State in 1874, where he married Miss Kate Wilson, at Vicksburg, on April 14, 1874, and thenceforth, until the date of his death, the 27th day of September, 1909, he made that city his home, and dedicated his highest efforts to the advancement of the best interests of the State of his adoption.

Endowed by nature with the attributes, which, when properly developed, win recognition; possessed of a liberal education; thoroughly trained in the school of experience, he was well fitted for the role of leadership he so effectually assumed.

Without special inclination, or preference, for public office, his fellow-citizens instinctively turned to him to represent them, when issues of transcendent importance to them, were to be determined, and, naturally, he thus, by their unanimous choice, appeared as their spokesman and champion, both in the Constitutional Convention, when the organic law was to be framed, and in the halls of legislation, where vital measures were to be enacted.

In the political arena he wielded the sceptre of authority, and his sup-

port of a candidate for public honors gave, as a rule, assurance of success.

In the councils of his people, his influence was manifest; and his example and advice secured tolerance for opposition, and eventually brought concord and harmony to their deliberations.

As an advocate, he was, at all times, respectful to the court; courteous, in the midst of the bitterest contest, to his adversary; and, he faced the arbiters of the facts, the very incarnation of imperturbable good nature, inspired by the consciousness that he stood for the right.

His equipose was remarkable; his self-possession striking; and he met victory without a sign of elevation, or defeat, without an expression of censure, or betrayal of feeling.

Sketch of Captain Robert E. Houston.

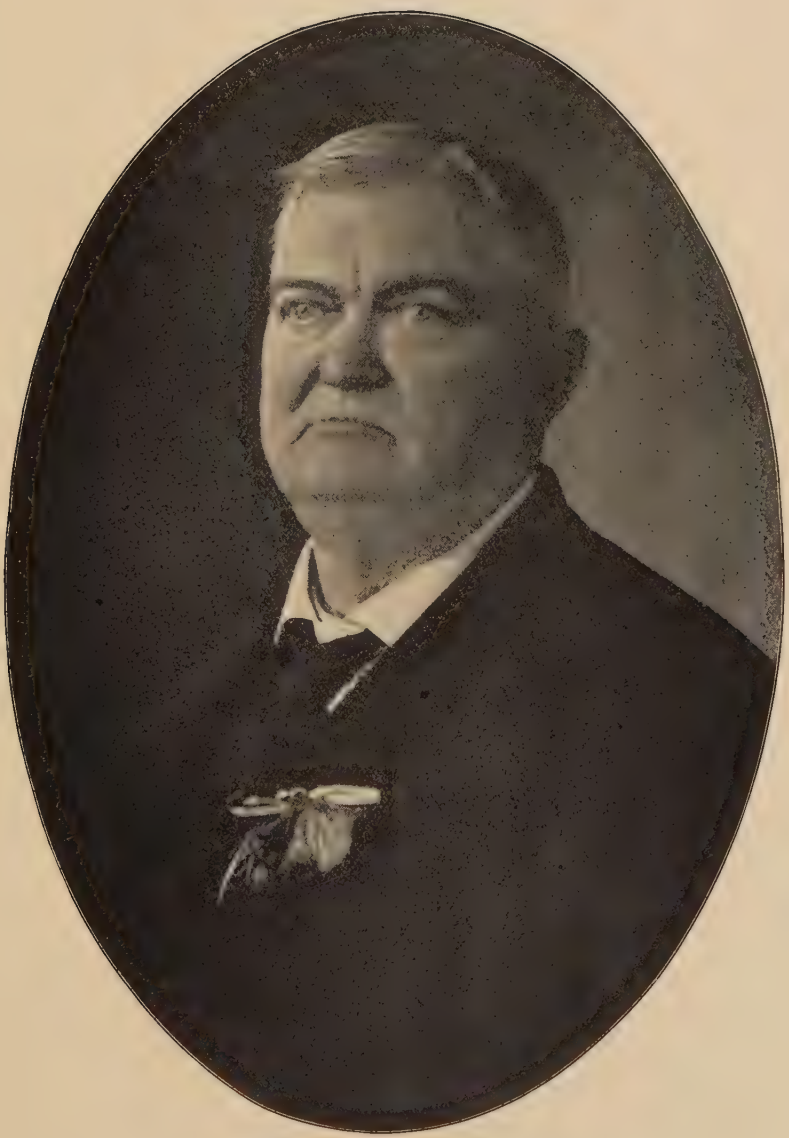
By George J. Leftwich.

Capt. Robert E. Houston was born in Monroe County, Tennessee, May 27, 1839, and died at Aberdeen, Mississippi, July 31, 1909. He was a son of Joseph E. Houston and a nephew of Judge Lock E. Houston, late a distinguished citizen of Mississippi. His ancestors were of the Scotch Covenanter race. His immediate forbears emigrated to America about 1645, and settled in Rockbridge County, Virginia, whence came many notable men, and among those of this immediate family was Gen. Sam Houston of wide fame. Capt. Houston's father's mother was the daughter of Capt. William Blackburn, who fought at King's Mountain, and the niece of Rev. Gideon Blackburn, Andrew Jackson's fighting parson.

Young Houston attended Hiwasee College and was graduated in law from Cumberland University in 1860. He began the practice of his profession at Aberdeen, Mississippi, in January, 1861, under the tutelage of his uncle. He continued in active practice at this place, with the exception of the period of the late war between the States, until ill health caused his retirement shortly before his death.

He enlisted in Company I, Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, in 1861, and fought throughout the war, a gallant soldier, until paroled at Washington, Georgia, January 27, 1865. He was commissioned captain in the Kentucky campaign, where he rode with Morgan, in 1862, and served both as adjutant-general and inspector-general of his regiment.

His first public office was that of county attorney, in 1868-1869. He represented Monroe County in the House of Representatives of Mississippi, in 1884, 1896 and 1900, and during the latter term was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He was elected Senator, to fill the unexpired term of Senator W. B. Walker, in 1904. He was an official member of the Presbyterian Church, and a Mason. His first wife was



CAPTAIN ROBERT E. HOUSTON.

Miss Mary Weaver, of Columbus, Mississippi, of which union one son, Joseph E. Houston, a practicing attorney of Aberdeen, survives. A second marriage was with Mrs. H. E. Stoddard, of Aberdeen. Capt. Houston was deeply devoted to the interests and organization of the Confederate Veterans, and in that organization had the rank of brigadier-general. He took deep interest in the Mississippi Historical Society, and was an enterprising and public-spirited citizen, much beloved in his adopted county.

Sketch of Bishop Charles B. Galloway.

By G. G. Hurst.

As prelate, publicist and patriot, Bishop Galloway was one of the greatest men of the nation. A deeply pious, well-regulated home and inherent fineness of soul fitted him for an eminent career in the church. Not only his own denomination felt the quickening power of his personality, but other faiths shared in the blessings of the overflow from his ministrations. He was greater than any creed, since all with equal pride claimed him as a brother in Israel.

Among the Bishops of his own church his mere presence was a power all-pervading. He was effectionally known among them as "Prince Charley." No prince of the realm had better claim to the title.

Bishop Galloway had the comprehensive, far-seeing mind of the statesman. His was no small vision and lowly conception that took account only of the things of the hour. His was the mind to construct states and republics. He seems to have had an intuition as to how events would shape themselves, how public opinion would change and how measures would work themselves into the lives of the people. His services to his own State are incalculable. For many years his advice was more largely sought and unhesitatingly followed than that of any other citizen of our Commonwealth. Yet he never obtruded himself upon others or advised officiously. He was supremely conscious of his position as a leading churchman in a republic where the separation of Church and State is a fundamental doctrine.

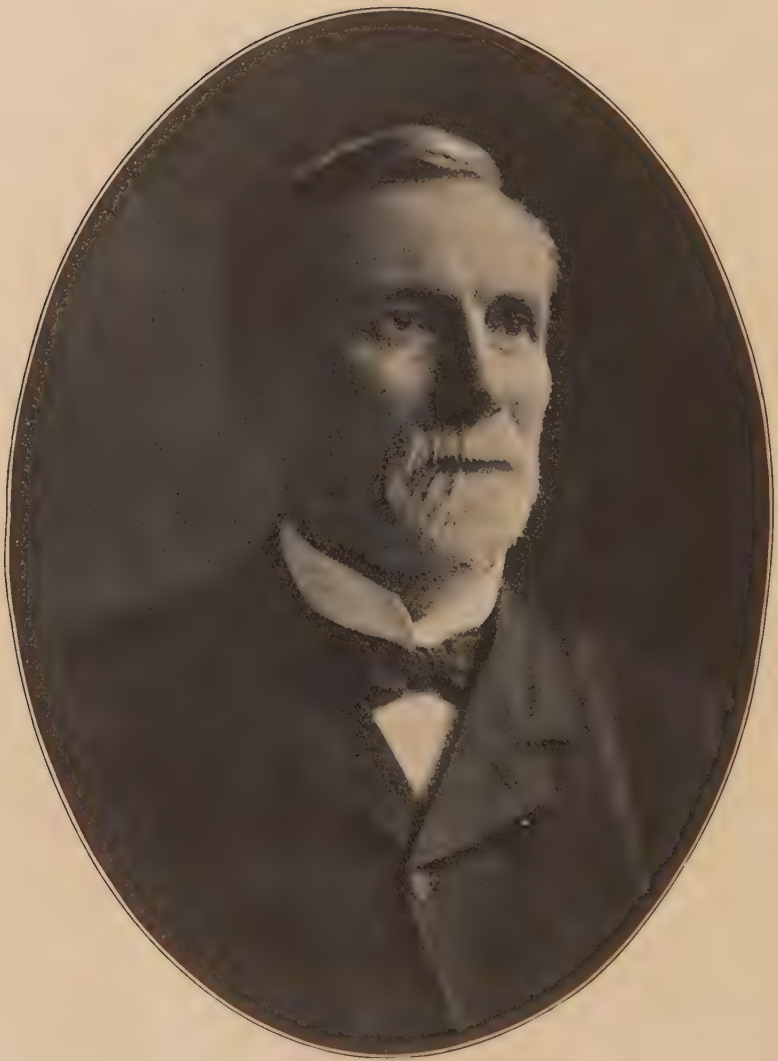
As a patriot, Bishop Galloway loved his native State and the nation with a passion that thrilled every fiber of his being. No one who has seen him can ever forget the kindling of that eagle eye, the proud lift of the leonine head, as in private or before assembles he referred to his State and nation.

He was too big to be narrow. In his conception the patriot who could not love his State could not love his nation. So Mississippi came first. It was his proudest boast, at home or abroad, North or South, that he was born, educated, attained fame, hoped to die and be buried, in Mississippi. He never desired to live elsewhere.

Combined in Bishop Galloway, then, in prodigal measure, were qualities

that made him great as churchman, publicist and patriot. Dr. Mayes has analyzed his greatness. The Bishop was too great to be odd, eccentric or bizarre. He was content to direct his genius in the ordinary ways of human activity, to work in the common run. This is a severe test.

As Dr. Mayes has so beautifully suggested, he was neither terrible, not awful, nor wonderful, but exceedingly useful and lovable.



BISHOP CHARLES B. GALLOWAY.

CHARLES BETTS GALLOWAY.

By Edward Mayes.[1]

During the period 1845 to 1863 there was living in Kosciusko, Mississippi, a Dr. Charles B. Galloway, who had married a Miss Elizabeth Adelaide Dinkins. This Dr. Galloway was a prosperous physician, a man of taste and culture. He was a devout Methodist, and his wife was a member of the Baptist Church. They had four sons and three daughters, one of the daughters dying in infancy. The children were guided firmly but kindly, and were surrounded by all the ennobling influences of a consistently pious life. Regular hours were exacted, and presence in the home circle in the evenings was required. But that home was made a happy one; and innocent games and interesting and improving books were provided. It was a hospitable home. Ministers of both the Methodist and the Baptist denominations were often amongst the frequent and welcome guests.

Here and to this couple, Charles Betts Galloway, the oldest son, was born on September 1, 1849, and was named for his father. Reared under such conditions, it may be easily believed that he early imbibed those clear and strong religious convictions which shaped his whole life.

As a boy, Charles Galloway attended a school in Kosciusko, kept by Rev. J. R. Farish, a Baptist minister. In this, and other schools in the town, he continued until October, 1863, when the family removed to Canton. Here he attended the school for boys as regularly as the disturbances of the Civil War allowed.

In the fall of 1865, he entered the Sophomore class of the University of Mississippi, and he graduated as a bachelor of arts in June, 1868, at eighteen, with a most creditable record for scholarship, being fifth in a class very large and of exceptional ability. There were then at the university influences well calculated to foster the piety of Charles Galloway. The chancellor

[1] A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 307-308, footnote.—Editor.

was Dr. John N. Waddel, an able and distinguished Presbyterian divine; denominational colleges had not then been reëstablished; and many of the student body were young men preparing for the ministry, in which class young Galloway formed most of his close friendships. In 1867 an union protracted meeting was held in Oxford, in which the university faculty and students took part. Many were converted, amongst them, Charles Galloway, who shortly afterwards united with the Methodist Church at Canton, under the pastorate of Rev. Charles G. Andrews; and so he began the long and unfaltering life of active piety which was his happy lot. He taught in the Sabbath schools; was a leading spirit in the students' prayer-meetings, which were held on Sunday afternoons; and graduated with a settled determination to enter the ministry.

Of his general bearing and standing at college, the Rev. Dr. C. W. Grafton, of the Presbyterian Church (who was the first honor man of his class), wrote after his death, as follows:

"The bent of his whole future life was set forth in his constant, unremitting devotion to daily duties, his conscientious fulfillment of every obligation, his uniformly courteous behavior, his upright walk and conversation all through his college course. He always displayed the rare quality of good common sense, and knew how to use his opportunities. More than any one I ever knew, he was at all times able to use his stores of knowledge. He was always captivating and winsome. I do not remember ever seeing him make a failure in class room, and he never shirked any duty. In those early days a great deal of attention was bestowed on declamation and debate, and other literary exercises, and in all these lines of work he was conspicuously at the front."

In the summer after his graduation he was licensed to preach by the quarterly conference of the Canton charge, his license being signed by the Rev. Richard Abbey, presiding elder; and by the following annual conference, in December, he was admitted on trial into the traveling connection, and assigned to the charge at Sharon, in Madison County. Immediately he gave evidence of his full capacity to meet the duties of his delicate and responsible office.

In 1869 he was chosen to a professorship in Madison College, a Methodist institution located at Sharon; which chair, however, he filled only one year.

On his twentieth birthday, September 1, 1869, Charles Galloway married Miss Hattie E. Willis, of Vicksburg; a most fortunate union, for his unselfish and good wife, who is possessed of much executive ability, was a singularly helpful and strong support to him throughout his life. Sorrows they had, of course; it is the common lot; but their home was a model of thrift and comfort, of hospitality and happiness.

He was stationed, preaching and conducting a school, at Black Hawk, in Carroll County, in 1870, and he very soon rose into prominence. His charm as a man and power as a preacher quickly called him to some of the most important charges in the conference and to a conspicuous position in the church at large. He served as pastor at Port Gibson in 1871, at Yazoo City 1872-1873, at Jackson 1874-1877, and at Vicksburg 1878-1881. He was stationed at the latter city when the terrible yellow fever epidemic of 1878 swept the State. Standing bravely by his post of duty, he visited and ministered to the sick for weeks; was finally stricken himself, and was so ill that at one time he was supposed to be actually dying. A formal obituary was published in the city papers; but wonderfully he rallied. In after life he often spoke with humorous enjoyment of the fact that he had seen his own obituary.

In the year 1882 he was again stationed at Jackson. The degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him in that year by his alma mater, the university; and in the same year he was elected editor of the New Orleans *Christian Advocate,* succeeding Dr. Linus Parker, in which capacity he served about four years, residing at Brookhaven. In this position the literary labors and training of his university course at once qualified him and served him well. Week after week his fresh, timely and powerful editorials told for his Master's cause, extended his own fame to every part of the connection, and disclosed to the leaders of the church the grace, the versatility and the power of the man.

In 1884 he was a delegate to the Centennial Conference at Baltimore, and in 1886 he was appointed fraternal messenger

of the M. E. Church, South, to the conference of the Methodist Church of Canada.

In 1886, also, he was elected bishop, being then only thirty-six years of age, and the youngest man ever raised to that high office by the Southern Church.

This election furnished occasion for an incident which shows in a striking manner how popular he was in Jackson, where he had twice served as pastor; the Methodists of Jackson, in order to secure his permanent settlement amongst them, presented him, in his own right, with a residence which was one of the most attractive and valuable in the city.

To his capacity and efficiency in this great trust, testimony was borne by Dr. H. M. DuBose, General Secretary of the Epworth League, in his memorial address before the Annual Conference at Brookhaven, in December, 1909:

"It is probable that no one has more honored the office or given larger proofs of preëminent fitness than this man whom our own Mississippi Conference gave to the Church. His ideal of the Episcopal office was such as compelled him to put forth his highest efforts in service and dedicate himself to the last degree of sacrifice. In labors he was as tireless as Asbury; in adaptations to circumstances as resourceful as Wesley, while in pulpit fervor and power he was a blending of the types of Bascom and Pierce. His administrative success was no more the result of a captivating personality, associated with prerogative, than was his pulpit success the result of mere verbal resonance or well-ordered phrases. He was acclaimed a great preacher because of the great and immediate service seen in his pulpit work. In like manner he was allowed to be a great administrator because he discreetly divided the law, and successfully governed assembles by the rules of their being. It is seldom that a great orator is found to be a great parliamentarian, but Bishop Galloway was both."

For many years he was a leader in the cause of prohibition. He was at one time editor of the *Temperance Banner,* which was the organ of the Mississippi temperance movement, and he was chairman of the Executive Committee in Mississippi. He published in 1886 a Handbook of Prohibition; also in 1888 open letters on prohibition, in which he engaged in a controversy on that subject with Jefferson Davis. These publications were amongst the earliest and most powerful employed in the cause of prohibition in the South. In this field of labor it has been well said of him, by Dr. Watkins, that—

"With his motto of 'Moral suasion for the drinker and legal suasion for the seller,' he became in his home the refuge of the depraved and penitent, who wished in his presence to sign the pledge of total abstinence, and his magnetic personality the center of that mighty moral movement that has freed Mississippi from the grasp of this giant evil. His wise counsel guided the development of the prohibition sentiment of the Commonwealth, guarding it at once from the timidity of the ultra-conservative and the wild excesses of the fanatic, until his glad eyes beheld the banishment of the legalized dram-shop from the confines of his beloved State."

Of the Ecumenical Conference of all the Methodist Churches, which met in Washington, D. C., in 1891, Bishop Galloway was a prominent and active member. In 1892 he was sent as fraternal delegate from the M. E. Church, South, to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in England; and again he was a leader in the Ecumenical Conference in London, in the year 1901.

One of the most noteworthy features of the Bishop's life is the exceptional service rendered by him in the cause of foreign missions. He was often referred to as "the missionary bishop of Methodism," and such he was. The cause appealed to him strongly, and interested him deeply, not only from the point of view of the priest, but also from that of the statesman and the philanthropist. In 1894 he officially visited the missions of his church in Japan and China, making a trip around the globe and landing at New York in February, 1895. He made a similar visit in 1897 to the missions in Brazil, and in 1901 he went again to South America, and in 1903 a second time to China and Japan.

In the year 1899 the degree of doctor of laws was conferred on him by the Northwestern University, at Evanston, Illinois.

To the cause of education, also, Bishop Galloway contributed much of his time and labor. Early in his episcopal work he brought about the organization of two colleges, both of which assumed his name; one at Searcy, Arkansas, and the other at Vineta, in the Indian Territory. When the movement was begun to establish Millsaps College, at Jackson, Mississippi, he presided over the North Mississippi Conference, held in December, 1888, at which that movement took final shape, and he undertook to make a personal canvass of the State in order to raise the funds needed to endow the institution. This undertaking he discharged

thoroughly and successfully, at such times and opportunities as he could command. In many towns and at many gatherings of the Methodist people in 1889 and 1890 he made ardent and stirring speeches, dealing with the importance of higher education in relation, not only to the industries, but also to the ministry and the church. His zeal and unflagging energy secured the moneys required. The establishment and successful history of the college are known of all. Bishop Galloway was made President of the Board of Trustees, and filled that office during his life.

His interest in educational work was not limited to those colleges over whose founding he presided, but it reached out and bore fruit in very many directions, and was always alive. In very many of the great meetings, held in the interest of educational movements, he was a leader and a prominent and influential speaker. This phase of his character and activity met abundant recognition. In 1905 he was elected President of the Board of Trustees of Vanderbilt University, in which office he continued during his life. In 1894 he was made President of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, South. He was also an active member of the John F. Slater Educational Fund.

Bishop Galloway was inspired by an intense love for this, his native State. After all of his wanderings, he said that he knew of no State or country more desirable to live in, or more attractive to himself. He loved the people of Mississippi, the living and the dead. He was an enthusiastic student of Mississippi history, and contributed largely to the publications of this Society, as will appear by inspection of them, and for years he was an interested and active member of the Trustees of the State Department of Archives and History. His pen was ready, pleasing and active. In addition to the publications already mentioned, he wrote numerous magazine articles; also books: *The Life of Bishop Linus Parker; Methodism, a Child of Providence; A Circuit of the Globe; Modern Missions, their Evidential Value; and Christianity and the American Commonwealth.* It is believed that his last matured literary work was a short biographical sketch of Lucius Q. C. Lamar, whom he greatly admired and loved, contributed

to *The Library of Southern Literature,* only a few weeks before his death.

It was, however, in oratory and speech-production that Bishop Galloway's talent found its chief expression. During his active career of forty years it is safe to say that his speeches, including sermons, mounted into thousands. He not only had a great native talent for oratory, which was manifested even in his callow days at college, but he also keenly enjoyed the intellectual fervor and stimulus of public speaking. Practice made him ready and fluent and strong. His personal appearance, which was at once engaging and impressive, and his voice, which was distinct, resonant and penetrating, equipped him well. His sermons always drew great congregations, and when he spoke attention fixed upon him at once, and his audiences inspired him. He won from the great Bishop Wilson the appellation of "golden-mouthed," and at the International Epworth League Conference, held in Denver in 1905, he was characterized by the pastor of a Northern Methodist Church, who introduced him, as "the greatest preacher under the sun."

Amongst those speeches of his which most impressed themselves on his hearers, and made most for his fame, may be mentioned his address on "Methodism," delivered at the Crystal Springs Camp Ground in 1877; his address to the meeting of Methodist preachers in New York City in February, 1895; the great sermon with which he opened the Ecumenical Conference at London, in the City Road Chapel, in 1901; his oration on the life and character of L. Q. C. Lamar; that delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the new capitol; and that on Jefferson Davis, pronounced at the university commencement of 1908.

Bishop Galloway had his place, and an important one, in State politics. Of course, he was not a politician in the common acceptation of that term. He took no such part in practical politics as would be unseemly or questionable in one consecrated to the service of God. Yet he had in politics a certain good influence, which he freely used, and which was potent for the right. His shrewd mind and clear common sense fully took in the fact that the separation between the Church and the State

ordained by our constitutions as part of the fundamental law of the land, neither was meant to, nor could, divorce religion from public matters. He knew well that it was at once the privilege and the duty of all godly people, acting through the forms of the State machinery, although not through the machinery of the Church, to impress their godliness upon the laws and the living of the State; so to guide, as far as possible, the current of public affairs that their drift should be towards righteousness and away from wrong of any form. Hence, his voice was heard clearly and often and in many places, on many of the public and quasi-public questions of his day.

Often he spoke before the Legislature, and with a holy courage he faced and denounced many of the popular wrongs which he saw. He spoke, for instance, in behalf of law and order, denouncing the mob as the assassin of the law, and suggesting steps for the upholding and efficiency of the courts, declaring that public offices are public trusts, and demanding that purity and justice pervade legislation and the administration of the laws.

So also with respect to the troublesome questions touching the relations between the races. He took his courage in his hands, and where so many temporized and were silent, he staked his popularity, and, while thoroughly loyal to his own race, withstood their prejudices and their passions, counciling forbearance, equal justice and even sacrifice in dealing with the negroes. From his memorable speeches of that period, numerous passages might be quoted, so replete with piety and with wisdom, that no nobler inscription could be carved on any tomb than to say that he who sleeps beneath, had spoken them. If from the palmy days of Greece some mouldering manuscript had remained on which could be deciphered only the name of the writer of many of the passages from his speeches, those words alone would have conferred a world-wide fame and would have sufficed to rank the author with Aristides and Plato. That such effect does not follow now, only proves that such high-thinking is now more common than then; for which we may thank God. But it is noble thinking, none the less.

The broadness of Bishop Galloway's mind is illustrated by his

attitude in the matter of sectionalism. A native of this State, and proud of his native heath, in love with its places, its institutions and its people—he yet had no patience with sectional narrowness. Whilst he was in every fiber a devoted Mississippian, yet also was his soul inspired with a patriotism which embraced all the Nation.

For him the whole country was but his father's house, and the States were its many mansions, and the glory of all was the glory of each. Nor did he bear to brood over any unhappiness of the past; but with an unfaltering faith and a kindling eye, he looked ever forward and upward, searching out a new greatness and a new happiness for his State and his country alike, one and inseparable.

With all of his popularity and prominence, Bishop Galloway was not a posturer. He lived in high altitudes and in the odor of sanctity, but he did not attempt to surround himself with any atmosphere of seclusion or superiority. His bright soul was companionable and genial. He greatly relished a good story or a joke, and himself told many a good one. He enjoyed a jolly laugh. His strong sympathy included the merely human things, as well as the purely spiritual, and his hearty good fellowship and unfailing kindness won him a vast multitude of friends, amongst whom were many who do not usually love men of holy lives.

His love for his work and his devotion to duty were illustrated in his latter days, when his strength failed and illness weighed him down, by his inability to yield to the protests of his friends and give up his work. He preferred to die in the harness, and he labored to the last. After several months of increasing weakness, he finally succumbed to an attack of pneumonia, and passed away on the 12th of May, 1909. It is quite safe to say that the death of no citizen of this State ever has carried to so many hearts the sense of personal bereavement, as this.

Was Bishop Galloway indeed great? He truly was. We cannot tell whether there were latent in him those extraordinary capacities, which, when the times serve and the special occasions arise, carry men on to dramatic achievements such as sometimes thrill the world. The man must fall upon the favoring times in

order to make manifest all of his possibilities. Had Cromwell been born fifty years earlier than he was, or had Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson been born fifty years later, probably none of them would ever have found a place in history, or been known except locally, or for more than a man of strong character and good abilities. But true greatness has many forms of manifestation. There is the greatness of the tornado, and the greatness of the breeze; there is the greatness of the raging ocean and that of the softly flowing river; there is the greatness of the towering mountain whose peaks are eternally wrapped in ice and loneliness, while there is also the greatness of the swelling plains, whose fruitful bosoms bear the burden of the human race. Galloway's life fell in a peaceful period. What dormant capacities he had for splendidly dramatic action can never be known, because no crisis called for such action; but he did show certainly the greatness of complete competency to meet all of those demands which a large life in peaceful times made on him, coupled with a prompt, unflagging, and even joyous willingness to discharge all of the calls upon him, and more. In him was truly manifested the fructifying greatness of the breeze, of the river, of the fertile plain and the summer rain. And, as it was manifested, his was the type of a true greatness, which made him, not terrible, nor awful, nor wonderful, but useful and lovable.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AS A POLITICAL FACTOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By Franklin L. Riley.[1]

Before entering upon a discussion of the subject which I have chosen for the basis of my remarks, I wish to express my appreciation of the kindness of your Society in extending to me through your celebrated President an invitation to address you on this occasion.

The histories of Louisiana and Mississippi are so intimately connected that neither can be understood without a careful study of both. It is interesting to note that the first Louisiana settlement was made at old Biloxi, in Mississippi; that the Mississippi Bubble gave the first great impulse to the development of Louisiana; that the two States became joint heirs to the rich estate of West Florida; and that in recent years Mississippi was generous enough to give, but not without some hesitation, the magnificent oyster beds south of her borders to her neighbor to whom she has been linked by a thousand other historic ties.[2] When, in the War of 1812, your great city, the metropolis of the South, was attacked by a foreign foe there were no patriots who displayed more zeal in its defense than did the gallant Mississippians, whose heroism, according to General Jackson, excited "the admiration of one army and the astonishment of the other." Mississippi points with pride to the careers of many of her historic characters, who, unable to resist the charms of Louisiana, divided their allegiance between the two States. Among these was William Dunbar, the pioneer scientist of the Mississippi Valley, who first settled in your borders, but spent his declining years in Mississippi. Mississippi generously loaned Louisiana one

[1] This address was made at a meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society, on February 16, 1910.—Editor.

[2] See McClurg's "Louisiana versus Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 293-339.

of her most worthy and illustrious territorial governors in the person of W. C. C. Claiborne, who became the first American Governor of your State. Mississippi gladly extended a hearty welcome and furnished a temporary home to J. J. Audubon, your most illustrious scientist, the great pioneer ornithologist of America. Dr. J. W. Monette, the pioneer historian of the Mississippi Valley, after spending the greater part of his life in Mississippi, was unable to resist the charms of Louisiana, and passed from time to eternity on one of his favorite plantations in your State. Colonel J. F. H. Claiborne, whom Mississippians delighted to honor in the thirties, after retiring from political life, passed many useful years in New Orleans, dedicating his journalistic talents to the use of your State, before returning to Mississippi to undertake his more arduous task of recording and perpetuating her early history. Your hospitable city also became the final home of Mississippi's most eloquent adopted son, Sargent S. Prentiss, whose oratory not only swayed the citizens of both States but charmed the English-speaking world. Mississippi has never adequately discharged her obligation to your State for the scholarly researches into her early history by Gayarré and other historians of the past, to say nothing of the investigations of your scholars now living, one of whom is the honored President of your Society. Neither has she repaid in kind your learned Society for the valuable publication of the original documents that pertain to her early history, which were given to the public long before the organization of other historical societies in the Lower South. Nor is the Mississippi Historical Society unappreciative of the contributions which the members of your Society have made to its *Publications* from time to time.

There are many interesting historical subjects which Mississippi and Louisiana have in common. I have decided to discuss on this occasion one which touches almost every phase of early State and national history; namely, "The Mississippi River as a Political Factor in American History."

We have heard much in recent days of the value of the Mississippi River as a commercial highway, and of the necessity of restoring the stream to its former depth in order to restore its

pristine value. Our historians devote much space to the commercial service which the greatest of North American rivers rendered before the day of railroads. They also dwell upon the military significance of the stream during the period of the War of Secession, when it bore on its bosom one of the most formidable squadrons of the time. By gaining control of its waters the Union severed the Confederacy in twain and dealt a death blow to the hope of the new nation.

It is hardly necessary to note in passing that the colonizing nations of the Old World were not slow to grasp the strategic importance of this great stream and to concentrate their energies toward controlling its navigation. France was the first nation to devise a practical plan for gaining this goal, but the policy of La Salle and the foresight of Iberville were not adequately supported by the home government, and in the course of time there was a literal fulfillment of Iberville's prophesy that the English colonists would soon cross the mountains from the Atlantic seaboard and contend for the possession of the land along the great river and its tributaries.

When the land-hungry British and their descendants began to extend their authority over the Mississippi Valley rival nations clung tenaciously to the mouth of the great river, largely with a view to controlling the navigation of its waters. In this way different European nations have tried from time to time to obtain either the fertile lands of the valley, or, what was scarcely less valuable, the free navigation of the stream. This brings us to a consideration of the Mississippi River as a factor in our

International Relations.

The first formal recognition of divided authority over the navigation of the Mississippi River was expressed in the seventh article of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which says:

> "The navigation of the River Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth."

This gave the British colonists free ingress and egress through a territory which belonged entirely to another nation.

When Louisiana passed into the hands of Spain, on the day before the signing of the preliminary treaty referred to above, it became necessary for the mother country to reckon with another nation for the free navigation of the great river. Notwithstanding this treaty the Spaniards were not slow to assert their authority over the stream. Finally, General O'Riley, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, sent soldiers (1769) to cut the hawsers of a British vessel, the Sea Flower, that had made fast to the bank of the river above New Orleans. The order was obeyed and the vessel narrowly escaped being lost. This gave unmistakable evidence of the fact that his Catholic Majesty had determined to hold the river against all adverse claimants. But the stirring events that were rapidly bringing on the American Revolution diverted the attention of England for the time from Spanish depredation to colonial rebellion.

The newly created government of the United States began to concern itself about the navigation of the Mississippi as early as December 30, 1776, when it instructed its commissioners to France and Spain to consult together and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, in which the United States would obligate itself to assist in the conquest of Pensacola for Spain, provided that nation would declare war against Great Britian and would grant the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi and use of the harbor of Pensacola.[3]

With the signing of the treaty between the United States and France on February 6, 1778, and the arrival a month later of M. Gerard, the first foreign minister to reach our shore, the nation he had the honor to represent played an increasing part in our affairs and the activity of our new ally in behalf of the Spanish claim to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi greatly embarrassed the United States. M. Gerard wrote to Vergennes, January 28, 1779, that his suggestions relative to Florida and the Mississippi had made a good deal of impression; that the Committee on Foreign Relations had made it the sub-

[3] *Secret Journal of Congress*, II, 40.

ject of several of its sittings and the President had declared to him that this committee did not want to do anything without his previous advice. He continues the letter as follows:

"The majority inclines to my view; some others want a compromise; and others think that the possession of the navigation of the Mississippi is absolutely indispensable. The two latter classes base themselves on the interests of the population which is settled on the Ohio and Illinois Rivers in the Natchez country and in eastern Florida. They say that they cannot abandon their compatriots who have established themselves there as a part of the nation, and who demand to be admitted to the American Confederation. * * * I repeated the arguments of which I have already had the honor to render an account to you, and I added that the United States had not the slightest right to the possessions of the king of England that did not equally belong to the king of Spain when he was at war with England. * * * I declared that the king would never prolong the war even for one day to procure them the possessions that they coveted * * * that harmony could never be established when Spain had so great a subject of jealousy."[4]

In response to an invitation from Congress, M. Gerard had a private audience with that body (February 15, 1779), in which he emphasized the necessity of enlisting Spain in the war. A special committee reported eight days later the terms under which Congress would be willing for Spain to institute peace negotiations between the United States and England, or, failing in that, to join in the conflict as an ally of the United States. Among other things, they reported that the navigation of the Mississippi as far down as the southern boundary of the United States and some free port or ports below the southern boundary should be presented as an ultimatum.[5] After prolonged discussion, extending over several months, instructions were finally issued (September 28) to our newly appointed minister, Mr. Jay, to the effect that if the king of Spain should accede to the treaties existing between France and the United States and "should obtain the Floridas from Great Britian, these United States will guarantee the same to his Catholic majesty; provided always, that the United States should enjoy the free navigation of the River Mississippi into and from the sea."[6]

---

[4] Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution,* VI, 167-8.
[5] Ibid, III, 58-61; *Secret Journal of Congress,* II, 132-136.
[6] Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution,* III, 26.

In the meantime (April 12, 1779), France and Spain had entered into a treaty whereby the latter agreed to declare war against their common enemy, England. It was further stipulated that neither of the allied powers would cease hostilities until Spain had regained Gibraltar and France had obtained Dunkirk, or, "in default of this," some other acquisition at the option of Spain."[7] This treaty has been generally overlooked by American historians, its full text having never been translated into English, yet its importance will be patent to any who gives a critical study to the events that followed.

In August, 1779, Galvez entered upon his conquest of the Floridas, and later (1780-1781), of Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan. It must be remembered that although Spain and the United States were fighting a common foe, they were never allies; the Mississippi River prevented the formation of an alliance. Jay soon found that "the Spaniards had no love for the Americans and that they were especially jealous of the prospective expansion of the United States westward to the Mississippi." Although he remained in Spain two years, he never even received official recognition and was "always rigidly excluded from the court and shamelessly neglected by the ministry and nobility."[8] In the meantime a new French minister, Luzerne, had arrived in Philadelphia and reiterated the statements of his predecessor that Spain would never consent to an alliance with the United States unless the latter power would obligate herself to make no westward settlements and not to demand the free navigation of the Mississippi.

Pellow says in his biography of John Jay:

"The question of the navigation of the Mississippi was a novelty in international diplomacy. The United States was the first power to insist on the right of a people who live along a river to sail through the dominion of other powers to its mouth; they also claimed the same right under the reservation to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris, of the right of navigation. But it was the mediæval policy of Spain to keep the Gulf of Mexico a closed sea from Florida to Yucatan. Florida

[7] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi*, 368-9.
[8] Ibid, 376.

Blanca, indeed, in September, went so far as to say that the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi was the principal object of the war, and more important than the capture of Gibraltar."[9]

Spain finally demanded, as the price of an alliance, that the United States would not extend her territory beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and that they would not contend for "any right to navigate the River Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon." By way of explanation, the Spaniards signified an intention of seizing all the British settlements on the east bank of the Mississippi.[10]

On the evening of September 3, 1780, M. Gardoqui called on Mr. Jay and pointedly "proposed" that he offer "the navigation of the Mississippi as a consideration for aid." Mr. Jay replied:

"This object could not come in question in a treaty for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds * * * that the Americans, almost to a man, believed that God Almighy had made that river a highway for the people of the upper country to go to the sea by; that the country was extensive and fertile; that the general, many officers and others of distinction and influence in America were deeply interested in it; that it would rapidly settle, and that the inhabitants would not readily be convinced of the justice of being obliged to live without foreign commodities and lose the surplus of their productions, or be obliged to transport them both over rugged mountains and through an immense wilderness to and from the sea, when they daily saw a fine river flowing at their doors and offering to save them the trouble and expense, without injury to Spain."

M. Gardoqui then observed:

"The present generation would not want this navigation and that we should leave future ones to manage their own affairs."[11]

Twenty days later Count Florida de Blanca and M. Gardoqui informed Mr. Jay:

"'It would not conduce to the general pacification to hurry on the treaty; that finding Congress were not disposed to concessions without which the king could not make a treaty, he thought it best, by mutual services and acts of friendship, to continue making way for more condescensions on

[9] Pellow's *John Jay,* 118, quoted from Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 377.

[10] Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution,* III, 489.

[11] Ibid. IV, 136-7.

both sides and not excite animosities and warmth by discussing points which the king would never yield.' In the course of the conversation the Count said, with some degree of warmth, 'that unless Spain could exclude all nations from the Gulf of Mexico they might as well admit all; that the king would never relinquish it; that the minister regarded it as the principal object to be obtained by the war, and *that obtained,* he should be perfectly easy whether or no Spain possessed any other cession; that he considered it far more important than the acquisition of Gibraltar.'" [12]

Trescot well says that Jay's instructions "at first bold, manly, and admirably argued, were finally withdrawn, and the navigation of the Mississippi was formally abandoned." This sudden weakening in the attitude of our minister is explained by a resolution which was introduced into Congress by the delegates from Georgia and unanimously adopted by that body on November 10, 1780. It provided, among other things, that "Mr. Jay be instructed, in case he shall find it indispensably necessary * * * that he be empowered to cede to the crown of Spain the entire navigation of the River Mississippi, together with a tract of territory," etc., provided that his Catholic majesty should enter into a treaty according to certain stipulations contained in the resolutions.[13] The action of the Georgia delegates was due to the suffering of their constituency at the hands of the British, who had just begun a vigorous assault upon that State. As the invading armies were advancing northward from Georgia with fair prospects of subduing the Carolinas and Virginia, the delegates from the last named States later received similar instructions from their General Assemblies. That these instructions then met with Mr. Jay's hearty disapproval is shown by the following extract from his autobiography:

"I was early convinced that, provided we could obtain independence and a speedy peace, we could not justify protracting the war * * * for the sake of acquiring the Floridas, to which we had no title, or retaining the navigation of the Mississippi which we should not want in this age, and of which we might probably acquire a partial use with the

[12] Ibid. IV, 145-6.

[13] Department of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, III, No. 2241 and Vol. 34, No. 3024.

consent of Spain. It was, therefore, my opinion that we should quit all claim to the Floridas and grant Spain the navigation of her river below our territories on her giving us a convenient free port on it, under regulations to be specified in a treaty, provided they would acknowledge our independence, defend it with their arms, and grant us either a proper sum of money or an annual subsidy for a certain number of years * * * but when Spain afterwards declared war for objects that did not include ours, and in the manner not very civil to our independence, I became persuaded that we ought not to cede to her any of our rights, and, of course, that we should retain and insist upon our right to the navigation of the Mississippi."

About this time (October 2, 1780) Franklin, then United States minister to France, showed that he was watching with much concern the diplomatic battle which was waging between his country and Spain. He wrote from Passy, near Paris:

"Poor as we are * * * I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price the whole of their right on the Mississippi than to sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door." [14]

In accordance with the instructions cited above, Jay very reluctantly receded from the demand for free navigation of the Mississippi, and in communicating the fact to the Spanish minister, cited it in justification of an urgent demand for an immediate treaty and aid for the revolutionary cause. Then followed further delays, evasions, fruitless interviews, and exchanges of letters and notes. Finally, on September 22, 1781, Mr. Jay, in response to a request from the Spanish minister, submitted in writing a series of propositions which were to form the basis of negotiation. The sixth of these propositions surrendered entirely the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, but expressed a hope that Spain would grant "a free port under certain restrictions." [15] Coupled with this proposal, however, was a "warning that if Spain neglected to take advantage of the present opportunity to settle the question of the Mississippi, she need not expect the restoration of peace to find the United States in anywise disposed to make such a concession." [16]

---

[14] Spark's *Franklin's Writings,* VIII, 501.

[15] Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution,* V, 760.

[16] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 388.

Although Jay's efforts were fruitless, the failure was not due to his lack of skill and zeal in the cause. The following extract which he wrote to the President of Congress October 3, 1781, is worth considering in this connection:

"It has uniformly been my opinion that if, after sending me here, Congress had constantly avoided all questions about the Mississippi, and appeared to consider that point irrevocable, Spain would have endeavored to purchase it by money, or a free port; but as her hopes of a change in the opinion of Congress were excited and kept alive by successive accounts of debates on that question, and as Congress, by drawing bills without previous funds, had painted their distress for want of money in very strong colors, Spain began to consider America as a petitioner, and treated her accordingly." [17]

The instructions to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi were finally revoked by Congress (August 7, 1782), and Mr. Jay was instructed "to forbear making any overtures" to the Spanish court or "entering into any stipulations in consequence of overtures which he had made, and in case any proposition be made to him by the said court for a treaty with the United States, to decline acceding to the same until he shall have transmitted them to Congress for approbation." [18] Remarkable to relate, this resolution was not passed by Congress until more than eight months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and long after an alliance would have been helpful to the United States or hurtful to Spain.

News of the surrender of Cornwallis first reached Mr. Jay by private letter December 7, 1782. Shortly afterwards he joined Adams and Franklin in the peace negotiations at Paris. The fact is sometimes overlooked that after the war between England and the United States had ceased in America, the Bourbon powers and England were still engaged in hostilities elsewhere. The United States had agreed in the Treaty of 1778 "not to conclude peace with England without the concurrence of France." On the other hand, France, by a treaty made the year following, had agreed not to make peace with England until Spain had

[17] *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,* II, 87; Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 387.
[18] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 389.

taken Gibraltar. Perhaps the French ministry extricated itself from this embarrassing position by promising the representatives of his Catholic majesty the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, and the free navigation of that stream in lieu of Gibraltar. Had not Count Florida de Blanca already said that Spain would prefer the navigation of the Mississippi to Gibraltar? Whether or not this conjecture be correct we shall probably never know, but the efforts of Vergennes in behalf of the Spanish claim of territory east of the Mississippi River is a well authenticated fact.

The decision of our diplomats to conduct their negotiations independent of the French, though violative of instructions, was certainly necessary for the best interests of the young nation. They were soon convinced that France would not aid them in establishing their claims to western territory and the navigation of the Mississippi River. Americans should not censure their ally, however, for favoring the Spanish claim. France had never obligated herself to aid the United States in the extension of their territory to the Mississippi River. On the other hand, the relationship between France and Spain was intimate, and France had agreed to continue the war against England until Spain had regained Gibraltar or in default of this had obtained "some other acquisition at the option of Spain." After Count Aranda, the Spanish minister at Paris, proposed to Mr. Jay that a longitudinal line be drawn east of the Mississippi as a boundary between Spain and the United States, and drew his famous red line on a copy of Mitchell's map, it was evident that Spain would not compromise her claims to the Mississippi River and Valley. The confession of Rayneval, confidential secretary of Vergennes, that his master would support the Spanish claim to both sides of the Mississippi, south of the 31°, and would favor the creation of an Indian reservation out of the region east of the Mississippi and between the 31° and the Ohio, gave unmistakable evidence of an understanding between the two Bourbon powers.

Then followed the violation of instructions by the American commissioners and the consummation of a treaty between the

United States and Great Britain without the knowledge of the French ministry, whereby the citizens of the contracting nations were to enjoy forever the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean, and that river was made the western boundary, and the 31° of latitude the southern boundary of the United States, west of the Apalachicola River. But, according to a secret article, it was expressly stipulated that if England should recover West Florida from Spain its northern boundary, and consequently the southern boundary of the United States, would be 32° 30′. As Spain refused to give up West Florida, England recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies with the 31° as their southern boundary. This important concession strengthened our right to the free navigation of the river and settled forever our claim to territory bordering thereon. When he learned that a preliminary treaty had been signed between the United States and Great Britain, without the concurrence of France, Vergennes addressed the following note to Franklin:

"I am at a loss to explain your conduct and that of your colleagues on this occasion. You have concluded your preliminary articles without any communication between us, although the instructions from Congress prescribe that nothing shall be done without the participation of the king. * * * You are wise and discreet, sir; you perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have all your life performed your duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfill those which are due to the king."

In reply to this complaint, Franklin said:

"Nothing had been agreed, in the preliminaries, contrary to the interests of France; and no peace is to take place between us and England till you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just—that in not consulting you before they were signed we have been guilty of neglecting a point of bienseance. But as this was not from want of respect for the king, whom we all love and honor, we hope it will be excused, and that the great work, which has hitherto been so happily conducted, and so glorious to his reign, will not be ruined by a single indiscretion of ours."[19]

Although Vergennes seems to have accepted Franklin's explanation, he had already instructed the French minister at

[19] Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy*, 67-8.

Philadelphia to inform Congress of the conduct of our commissioners at Paris. In his letter to the commissioners, Livingston approved of the terms of the treaty, but condemned their conduct in violating instructions and in agreeing to a secret article. Upon the receipt of this letter, impulsive John Adams wrote:

"I am weary, disgusted, affronted, and disappointed. * * * I have been injured, and my country has joined in the injury; it had basely prostituted its honor by sacrificing mine. But the sacrifice of me was not so servile and intolerable as putting us all under guardianship. Congress surrendered their own sovereignty into the hands of a French minister. Blush! blush! ye guilty records! blush and perish! It is glory to have broken such infamous orders. Infamous, I say, for so they will be to all posterity. How can such a stain be washed out?" [20]

It is interesting to note that although the Treaty of Paris between England and the United States gave to both countries the free navigation of the Mississippi, the former country had no territory touching the river. It is also interesting to note that when Rayneval, the French agent at London, remarked to Lord Shelbourne that the article granting navigation of the Mississippi to the Americans would be inconvenient to Spain, his lordship replied that "he cared little for what would concern Spain; that power only merited respect because it was allied to France, and that he would make no effort in her favor." In writing of this incident to Vergennes, Rayneval adds, "I will wait for a calmer moment to answer him."

As Spain was not a party to the treaty between the United States and Great Britian, she refused to recognize the claims of the United States based thereon. She felt that her conquest of West Florida and its cession by England in 1783 entitled her to all the territory to 32° 30′, which had been the northern boundary of that province for a period of twenty years, since 1763. On the other hand, the United States claimed the territory to the 31°, under a prior grant from England. But when it was learned that a secret article in the same treaty recognized the line of 32° 30′ as a possible limit of West Florida, Spanish indignation knew no bounds and she stubbornly refused to recog-

[20] Ibid, 80.

nize the claim of the United States to the territory between 31° and 32° 30′. As she has undisputed title to the territory on both sides of the Mississippi below the 31°, and was therefore in a position to control the navigation of the lower part of the river, she determined to retaliate on the United States for what she considered to be their sharp practice. She not only refused for a period of twelve years longer to make a commercial treaty, but closed the lower river to American ships much of the time until Louisiana passed out of her hands.

The negotiations were greatly complicated at this time by the conflicting views and interests of the Northern and Southern States, a condition well known to the Spanish diplomats. Schuyler calls attention to the following facts which cannot be overlooked in this connection:

"We were negotiating not only for the freedom of the Mississippi, but also for a commercial treaty. The Northern States, on account of their commerce, cared most for the commercial treaty and were willing, in case we could conclude one with Spain on reciprocal terms, to forbear the use of the Mississippi from the southern boundary of the United States to the ocean, for twenty-five or thirty years, thinking that the navigation of that river was of so little importance at that time that it would not become valuable for many years, and that it was no sacrifice to forbear the use of a thing which we really did not want. To this the five Southern States—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia—opposed. Many of their citizens had gone into the western country, and the river system was such that the navigation of the Mississippi appeared to them of prime importance. But at first the Southern States were in a minority, and in 1781, when Mr. Jay was still in England, he was empowered to propose, as the condition of the commercial treaty, that we would forbear the use of the Mississippi for thirty years. The feeling of the country, however, soon changed. Immediately after the war there was a large emigration from the Atlantic States, which were oppressed with taxes and debts."[21]

That the policy of Spain was understood by the Kentuckians, is shown by the following extract from the writings of John Folsom, published in 1784 in Imlay's *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America:*

"I grant it will be absurd to expect free navigation of the Mississippi whilst the Spaniards are in possession of New Orleans. To suppose it is an idea calculated to impose only upon the weak. They may perhaps

[21] Schuyler's *American Diplomacy*, 270-271.

treat with us upon their own terms, while they think it consistent with their interest, but no friendship in trade exists when interest expires; therefore, when the western country becomes populous and ripe for trade, sound policy tells us the Floridas must be ours, too."

In October, 1784, General Washington wrote to Governor Harrison, of Virginia, as follows:

"The western States (I speak now from my own observation) stand, as it were, upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards, very impolitically, I think, for themselves, threw difficulties in their way."

Three months before the writing of General Washington's letter, the Spanish minister of the Department of the Indies, wrote to the Spanish agent at Philadelphia, as follows:

"Until the limits of Louisiana and the two Floridas shall be settled and determined with the United States of America, his majesty commands that you should give the States and Congress to understand that they are not to expose to process and confiscation the vessels which they destine to carry commerce on the River Mississippi, inasmuch as a treaty concluded between the United States and England, on which the former ground their pretentions to the navigation of the river, could not fix limits in the territory which that power did not possess, the two borders of the river being already conquered and possessed by our arms the day the treaty was made."[22]

December 17, 1784, Congress resolved to send a minister to Madrid to adjust the interfering claims of the two nations respecting the navigation of the Mississippi and other matters.[23] Three months before this, however, the Spanish king sent Gardoqui with plentipotentiary power to treat with any person vested with equal powers by the United States.[24]

The point at issue was stubbornly contested. The United States had fully determined to insist upon her right to the disputed territory (between 31° and 32° 30′), and upon her right to navigate the Mississippi. Complaints came thick and fast from the Mississippi frontier. October 1, 1785, a boat belonging to A. Fowler had been seized by the Spaniards at Natchez as it was descending the Mississippi.[25] In the summer of 1786, Thomas

[22] *Secret Journal of Congress,* III, 517.
[23] Ibid, 520.
[24] Ibid, 562-4.
[25] Ibid, 610.

Amis also lost his boat and cargo by confiscation at Natchez. The recital of his experiences to the people of Kentucky greatly aroused their indignation. In the latter part of the year 1787 an American vessel was seized by a party of Spanish soldiers on the eastern side of the Mississippi, in latitude 34° 30′, and its cargo, to the value of $980, was confiscated. Their officer avowed that he had instructions from the Governor of New Orleans, "requiring him to seize and confiscate all property *found on either side of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio.*" The Governor of New Orleans justified his order on the ground that he was acting under instructions from the court. So far as is known to the writer, this was the boldest and most defiant act of a Spanish official during this period of disputed jurisdiction over the Mississippi.

In the meantime, Gardoqui and Jay had spent much time trying to agree upon terms for a treaty. In spite of all Mr. Jay's arguments the Spanish minister firmly answered, "the king will never yield that point nor consent to any compromise; for it always has been, and continues to be, one of their maxims of policy, to exclude all mankind from their American shores."[25] After reciting these facts, Mr. Jay adds a recommendation, "that it would be expedient to agree that the treaty should be limited to twenty-five or thirty years, and that one of the articles should stipulate that the United States would forbear to use the navigation of the river below their territories to the ocean." Although Congress failed to adopt this recommendation, the Westerners were indignant that such a proposition should have been considered.

The expiring Congress of the old Confederation finally abandoned all hope of making a satisfactory treaty, and on September 16, 1788, revoked Jay's commission. At the same time it left a valuable heritage to the new government in the form of the following resolution:

"The free navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essential

[25] *Secret Journal of Congress,* IV, 51-2.
[26] *Secret Journal of Congress,* IV, 51-2. See also "Pinckney's Reply to Jay, 1786," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* X, 817-827.

right of the United States, and the same should be considered and supported as such." [27]

Time will not permit me to speak of the compact between General Wilkinson and the Spanish authorities, whereby the Westerners at one time thought that the perplexing problem of free navigation had been solved. Suffice it to say, that other traders in attempting to follow the example of Wilkinson were less fortunate than was the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, who reaped great profits from his concessions. By the year 1790 these privileges were revoked and the trade on the Mississippi was "precisely what it had been before Wilkinson appeared on the scene." [28]

In the latter part of 1791 Spain intimated that she would be willing to treat at Madrid on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi. In response to this intimation Mr. Carmichael, who had just left Madrid, and Mr. Short, then *chargé d'affaires* at Paris, were made special commissioners to represent the United States at Madrid with instructions to treat, not only on the navigation of the Mississippi, but on boundaries and commerce. Schuyler makes the following succinct statement with reference to that part of the instructions which relate to the subject of navigation:

"It was made a *sine qua non* that our right be acknowledged of navigating the Mississippi, in its whole breadth and length, from the source to the sea, as established by the treaty of 1763; that neither the vessels, cargoes, nor persons on board be stopped, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever; or if a visit must be permitted, that it be under such restrictions as to produce the least possible inconvenience; but it should be altogether avoided as the parent of perpetual broils; that such conveniences be allowed us ashore as might render our right to navigation practicable, and under such regulations as might, *bona fide*, respect the preservation of peace and order alone, and might not have an object to embarrass our navigation, or raise a revenue on it. The commissioners were also instructed that no phrase should be admitted into the treaty which could express or imply that we took the navigation of the Mississippi as a grant from Spain, although this might be waived rather than fail in concluding a treaty. They were told, also, that no proposition could be entertained for compensation in exchange for the navigation; and in case of any such proposition it was to be offset by a

[27] *Secret Journal of Congress,* IV, 447.

[28] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 441-44.

claim for damages to the commerce of the United States by duties and detentions at New Orleans during nine years."[29]

Unfortunately the Spanish government was represented by Gardoqui, whose previous experiences in Philadelphia had given him intimate knowledge of the "indecision and weakness of the Confederation." He was not, therefore, inclined to make any concessions, and resorted to his favorite policy of procrastination. He was doubly cautious because of an approaching war between France and Spain, which would inevitably follow as a result of the efforts of his superior, Godoy, to save the life of Louis XVI. The American commissioners were handicapped because of the strained relations then existing between their government and England. They feared that the latter country might join with Spain in opposition to the American claims and thus defeat their plans. This led them to recommend a temporary postponement of negotiations. Shortly thereafter Mr. Carmichael departed from Spain, leaving Mr. Short *chargé d'affaires*. The mission failed of its main purpose, though they reached certain agreements with the Spanish government relative to Indian affairs.

With the beginning of Thomas Jefferson's term of office as Secretary of State the vacillating policy of our government with reference to the navigation of the Mississippi was at an end. He insisted that the American commissioners, who were authorized in 1793 to renew negotiations at the suggestion of Spain, should make an acknowledgment of the right to navigate the Mississippi "in its whole length and breadth from its source to the sea" as an essential condition of the treaty.

By a sudden change of Spanish policy two years later the Treaty of San Lorenzo temporarily settled the question at issue. This change was brought about through the influence of Mr. Monroe, then minister of the United States at Paris, through whom

---

[29] Schuyler's *American Diplomacy*, 272-273.

Spain made her first advances for a peace treaty with France, which was consummated in July, 1795.[30]

To secure Mr. Monroe's assistance in this connection, Godoy promised him that a settlement of the long disputed difficulties between the United States and Spain would be made "on the most favorable terms" and "at the same time and place" as the treaty with France. As soon as Mr. Monroe presented the first advances of Spain to France, Jourdenes (August, 1794) wrote to Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State, expressing:

> "His great regret at the little progress made in the negotiations between the two countries, owing to the fact that his majesty would not treat so long as the plenipotentiaries were not furnished with the amplest powers, or were directed by their secret instructions to conclude a partial and not a general treaty; at least his majesty expected that the ministers appointed by the United States should be persons of such character, distinction, and temper, as were required by the gravity of the questions under negotiation; * * * that the well-known misconceptions of Mr. Carmichael, and the want of circumspection in the conduct of Mr. Short, rendered it impossible to conclude this negotiation with them."

These representatives of the two powers then had a long personal conference in which Mr. Jourdenes stated that if "a proper person" were sent to Spain the differences between the two countries might be speedily adjusted. President Washington appointed (November, 1794) Thomas Pinckney, then at the court of St. James, as minister plenipotentiary at Madrid, conferring upon him full powers to conclude a treaty. He reached the Spanish court about the middle of June, 1795. To his disappointment, the Spanish government not only refused to make a commercial treaty, but coupled with their concession of American rights to the navigation of the Mississippi River, an objection to the establishment of a "depot" at New Orleans for the commerce of the United States. After a futile effort to reach a satisfactory agreement, Mr. Pinckney demanded his passport. This brought Godoy to terms. He suddenly changed

---

[30] Bond's "Monroe's Efforts to Secure Free Navigation of the Mississippi River," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IX, 255-262.

his attitude and the Treaty of San Lorenzo was quickly consummated.[31]

This treaty recognized the 31° of latitude as the southern boundary of the United States. In Article IV, the Spanish king declared that the navigation of the Mississippi River "in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention." Article XXII allowed citizens of the United States:

> "For the space of three years to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other price than for the hire of the stores; and his majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them on another part of the banks of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment."

It seems, however, that the acceptance of these stipulations were considered by Spain as only a temporary expedient, and that she thought the fulfillment of the treaty might be ultimately evaded. In May, 1797, she protested against several provisions in our treaty with Great Britian, signed in 1794, and especially against the right given therein to Great Britian on the Mississippi. The third article of this treaty provided that "the River should be open to both parties." But the fourth article of the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795) stated that the free navigation of the Mississippi belonged solely to the subjects of Spain and the citizens of the United States. A spirited controversy on the question took place between the Secretary of State and the Spanish minister at Washington.[32] As neither party to the controversy would recede from his position, the matter was finally settled by events that occurred elsewhere.

Through her agents in Tennessee and Kentucky, Spain was trying to disaffect the people of the West towards the United States by the free use of money and promises of independence

[31] Schuyler's *American Diplomacy*, 274-276.
[32] Ibid, 277-280.

and free trade. But in order to impress the American backwoodsmen with the importance of obtaining free trade, she again attempted to close the Mississisippi. Governor Gayoso wrote to a confidential friend "it was expected that several States would separate from the Union, which would absolve Spain from her engagements." Failing in her efforts to dismember the Union, Spain finally withdrew with reluctance to the territory south of the 31°.[33]

In 1802-'03 Spanish authorities in Louisiana again showed marked hostility toward the United States. Contrary to the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the right of landing produce from the United States was taken away, and an order was issued prohibiting intercourse between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Spain. Thus, by one stroke of the pen, the Spanish authorities canceled all that had been gained in the way of the free navigation of the Mississippi by "more than a decade of diligent diplomacy." In this connection the Spanish intendant asserted that in granting the right of deposit Spain had made a mistake and that "the river should no longer be open to American commerce except on the payment of heavy tolls."[34] This arbitary act of a Spanish official caused President Jefferson to determine upon an effort that would place the rights of American citizens on the Mississippi "beyond the reach of accident."

About this time the news of the cession of Louisiana to France reached America. The alarm produced by this report is shown by Jefferson's statement:

> "The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. * * * It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. * * * There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-fourths of our territory must pass to market. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance."[35]

---

[33] Riley's "Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo," in *Publications Miss. Hist. Soc.,* I, 50-66; *Report, Amer. Hist. Asso. for 1897,* 175-192.

[34] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 498.

[35] Ibid, 491-2.

The lower house of Congress shared this sentiment, as it passed an appropriation bill for $2,000,000 to defray any expenses connected with our foreign relations with a view of applying it to the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida "on the ground that New Orleans must either be fought for or bought."

The details of the negotiations which culminated in the purchase of Louisiana are too familiar to be recited in this connection. Suffice it to say, that by this purchase the United States obtained both banks of the Mississippi throughout its length and thus gained control of its waters. By this fortunate purchase the United States passed safely through a crisis which Jefferson characterized as the most important they "have ever met since their independence," and one which would "decide their future character and career." In the same way he referred to the navigation of the Mississippi as "so indispensable that we cannot hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance." [36]

John W. Foster says of this purchase:

"It made the acquisition of Florida a necessity. It brought about the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the thirst for more slave territory to preserve the balance of power, the Civil War, and the abolition of slavery. It led to our Pacific coast possessions, the construction of the transcontinental lines of railway and our marvelous Rocky Mountain development, the demand for the Isthmus Canal, the purchase of Alaska, the annexation of Hawaii. It opened up to us the great field of commercial development beyond the Pacific in Japan, China, and the islands of the sea. It fixed our destiny as a great world power, the effects of which we are to-day just beginning to realize." [37]

The last attempt of Spain to prevent American control of the Mississippi Valley and River was made after the purchase of Louisiana. Before the ratification of the purchase treaty by the Senate, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs at Madrid and the Spanish minister at Washington protested against the cession on the following grounds: (1) The pledge of France that she would never dispose of Louisiana; (2) the failure of

[36] Ibid, 504-5.

[37] Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy*, 204.

France "to procure the recognition of the king of Tuscany from Russia and Great Britian." In reply Mr. Madison called attention to the fact that Spain had not given notice of her claim before the purchase and that the United States had made the purchase in good faith. But Jefferson dismissed the matter with a statement that "these were private questions between France and Spain, which they must settle together; that we derived our title from the first consul, and did not doubt his guarantee of it." The protest was ignored by the Senate, which promptly ratified to the treaty when submitted.[38]

Although the Louisiana purchase gave the United States all the lands on both sides of the Mississippi, the right of England to the free navigation of that stream had never been relinquished. In fact, this right, as conceded in the eighth article of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, was reiterated in the third article of Jay's Treaty in 1794. The English commissioners at Ghent in 1814 endeavored to procure a further acknowledgment of the right of their countrymen to the free navigation of the Mississippi "by making it the price of yielding to the United States the continuance of the privileges previously enjoyed by American fishermen under Article III of the Treaty of Peace," and they coupled with this stipulation a demand for a land grant that would give them "territorial access to the stream." Although Mr. Adams was willing to sacrifice the exclusive use of the Mississippi for the fishing rights, Mr. Clay would not hear to it. In his diary Mr. Adams records: "October 31, Mr. Clay is losing his temper, and growing peevish and fractious." Another entry reads: "Mr. Clay lost his temper (to-day), as he generally does whenever the right of the British to navigate the Mississippi is discussed."[39] As a result of the unwillingness of our commissioners to grant the free navigation of the Mississippi the Treaty of Ghent contained no reference either to this subject or to the fisheries, both being postponed for future negotiations.

In the negotiation of the Treaty of 1818, "the British com-

[38] Ibid, 196-197; *American State Papers. Foreign Relations* II, 569-572; *Writings of Jefferson* VIII, 278.

[39] Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy,* 245.

missioners endeavored to revive the question of the navigation of the Mississippi, but the American commissioners refused to entertain it, for the reason that it was then known that the stream was not at any point navigable within British jurisdiction." Since that date Great Britain has not attempted to make our great river an international stream.

She has since (1854) granted the United States free use of the St. Lawrence from its source to its mouth on the ground that, although she owns the mouth of that stream, its upper waters flow between the territory of both countries. It is interesting to note that the conditions in this case are identically the same as those under which the United States contended for the free navigation of the Mississippi when the Spaniards held Louisiana.

It is also noteworthy that the wholesome principles of international law enunciated by our statesmen, particularly by Mr. Jefferson, in the struggle over the free navigation of the Mississippi have since been applied thoughout the world.

Federal Relations.

In the early days of the Republic the desire of its western citizens for free commerce on the Mississippi had a marked effect upon their relations to the Federal government. They became impatient over the delay of the negotiations with Spain, and in their desperation took into their own hands the matter of adjusting their relations with the Spaniards in Louisiana and West Florida. Without the knowledge or consent of Congress they raised a body of troops for the purpose of making reprisals on Spanish commerce, saying that if the Spaniards would not allow them the free use of the lower Mississippi they would not allow the Spaniards to trade on the upper river. A store belonging to a Spaniard at Vincennes was seized by a force acting under orders from George Rogers Clark, who had been placed in charge of the little independent army of frontiersmen. The Indians were also given to understand that they might rob the Spaniards with impunity.

Shortly after the discussion in Congress over Jay's proposi-

tion to recede from the demand for free navigation of the Mississippi, the western people seem to have heard that such a treaty had been actually ratified, and they gave free vent to their indignation. In a letter from Thomas Green, written at Louisville, December 23, 1786, is found the following expression:

"The commercial treaty with Spain is considered to be cruel, oppressive and unjust. The prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi has astonished the whole western country. To sell us and make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards is a grievance not to be borne. Should we tamely submit to such manacles we should be unworthy the name of Americans and a scandal to the annals of its history." [40]

Although not generally known, the indifference of Congress to the free navigation of the Mississippi was one of the principal causes for the delay of the Southern States, particularly of North Carolina, in ratifying the Federal Constitution. The disaffection of the settlers in the Mississippi Valley produced by this policy encouraged at least three foreign nations to attempt to detach the western country from the Union. There is evidence to show that many Westerners, despairing of aid from the United States, were looking to England for assistance. An anonymous letter written at Louisville, December 4, 1786, says:

"Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it) our allegiance will be thrown off and some other power applied to. Great Britain stands ready with open arms to support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once reunited to them, 'farewell, a long farewell, to all your boasted greatness.' The province of Canada and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These hints, if rightly improved, may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect." [41]

In June, 1792, England attempted to have her boundary so changed as to give her citizens access to the navigable waters of the Mississippi, claiming that it would be for the interest of the United States to introduce a third power between it and the

[40] *Secret Journal of Congress,* IV, 315-17.
[41] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi,* 437-8.

Spaniards.[42] The English minister suggested "that such a slice of our northwest territory might be cut off for them as would admit them to the navigation and profit of the Mississippi."

Jefferson, in 1793, thwarted Genet's plans of having a consul of France in Kentucky. It is a well known fact that George Rogers Clark accepted a commission from the French Republic and raised troops under the military title, "Commander-in-Chief of the French Revolutionary Legions on the Mississippi," with a view to seizing New Orleans and opening the river trade. He began to make reprisals, seizing Spanish stores and confiscating their contents, but was finally restrained by Governors St. Clair and Blount and General Wayne.

By liberal use of money and commercial concessions among men of influence in Tennessee and Kentucky, Spain was also exerting herself to detach the western country from the United States.

These facts show that more than one European power was trying to profit by the disaffection of the West. The reported enlistment of troops and the commissioning of officers in Tennessee and Kentucky by representatives of foreign powers who were quick to take advantage of the disaffection of the frontiersmen on account of the closing of the Mississippi, show the extent to which this important subject directed public affairs in the infancy of the Republic.

An interesting turn was taken in Federal politics, when, on February 15, 1803, Senator Ross, of Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution requiring President Jefferson to take immediate possession of New Orleans by an armed force. Mr. Monroe said that "the resolution of Mr. Ross proves that the Federal party will stick at nothing to embarrass the admn. and recover its lost power."[43] This Federalist scheme seems to have been of little consequence as Mr. Jefferson soon consummated the Louisiana purchase.

One of the most interesting subjects connected with the Mississippi as a factor in Federal politics is that of the seizure of

[42] Ford's *Jefferson*, I, 195-6; VI, 72.

[43] Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi*, 507.

the Batture at New Orleans by the United States Government under the direction of President Jefferson. This subject is too broad and intricate to treat in this connection. Fortunately the damage suit against Jefferson after his retirement from the Presidency, which suit was instituted by Edward Livingston because of his ejectment from the Batture, furnished the incentive for a learned brief from the gifted statesman on this subject. I know of no better evidence of Mr. Jefferson's attainments as a scholar and as a lawyer than is afforded by this remarkable contribution which occupies 132 pages in the memorial edition of his writings.[44] Time will not suffice to treat of the character and scope of this learned dissertation.

The importance of Federal aid for maintaining levees, jetties, revetments, and other improvements for the protection of agriculture and commerce are matters of Federal polity, about which there is now little difference of opinion. The two leading national parties seem also to be unequivocally committed to the policy of deepening the channel of the river from the lakes to the gulf with a view to restoring its former commercial importance.

Intersectional Relations.

The sectional antagonisms, which were early developed in Congress by the indifference of the New England delegates to the navigation of the Mississippi and the acrimonious debate which ensued, was one of the first sectional controversies in the history of that body. In writing of this incident, McMaster puts the following words into the mouths of some of the noted Southerners of that day:

> "Was it reasonable * * * to demand so great a sacrifice from one section of the country for the benefit of another? Massachusetts seemed to think it very hard that the South would fall in with Spain; would not sell the affections of her western colonies; throw away her rich possessions; distrust an ally able and willing to befriend her; and court, by the most precious sacrifices, an alliance with a power whose impotency was notorious. But what would Massachusetts say to a proposition to give up to Great Britain her right of fishery as the price of some stipulation in favor of tobacco."[45]

---

[44] *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* XVIII, 1-132.
[45] McMaster's *History of the People of the United States,* I, 378.

This discussion grew more bitter day by day, until the question came to a final vote, when, on August 30th, Jay's recommendation was rejected by a strict sectional vote, all the New England and Middle States that were represented, nine in number, voted for the resolution, and the five Southern States against it. The Westerners were aflame with indignation over the betrayal of their interests by the New England and Middle States. Kentucky, then only a part of Virginia, "threatened to withdraw from the Union if the river was closed, while, on the other hand, threats were made that the group of New England States would do so if their commercial advantages were sacrificed to save the river. Neither side in such controversies seemed to think it necessary to give any legal explanation of its right to withdraw from the Union, which was commonly supposed to be a perpetual one."[46] Numerous conventions were held on the frontier, in which there was wholesale denunciation of the sections that were indifferent to western interests. Numerous Southern States passed resolutions with reference to the seizure of boats on the Mississippi by the Spaniards. In 1787 Jefferson wrote to Madison, "the act which abandons it (the Mississippi) is an act of separation between the eastern and western country."

Interstate Relations.

The great river has led to interstate coöperation in levee building and in the solution of other problems which it has presented. There seems to be at present a need for coöperation of different States in the enforcement of prohibition laws on its waters. The resolution passed by the last Congress, at the instance of Mr. Humphreys, of Mississippi, looking toward a settlement of the question of jurisdiction on the river, is doubly interesting, since it is a reversion to the historic method pursued by Virginia and Maryland in settling the question of their jurisdiction on the Potomac, which incident marked the beginning of developments that culminated in the Constitutional Convention, 1787.

[46] Riley's *Political History of the South* (The South in the Building of the Nation Series), 475.

Intrastate Relations.

This phase of the subject is too extensive to receive adequate treatment at this time. The Mississippi River has presented numerous problems for solution within each State along its borders. Some of these arise from conflicting interests between the delta and the upland regions. In Mississippi and Arkansas the segregation of negroes in the delta region has presented some interesting governmental problems connected with the distribution of the public school fund and other important matters.

I have attempted to present in general outline a few of the most important facts, which might be cited in justification of my thesis that the Mississippi River has been one of the most important political factors in the history of the United States. Each phase of this subject might be made the subject of an elaborate discussion, which would give a deeper insight into the political history of our country.

DEMARCATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI-LOUISIANA BOUNDARY FROM THE MOUTH OF PEARL RIVER TO THE GULF OF MEXICO.

By Franklin L. Riley.

This brief article is intended to supplement the valuable contribution on the boundary dispute between Mississippi and Louisiana, which was made by Hon. Monroe McClurg to Volume VIII of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. Mr. McClurg's contribution was written while the boundary controversy was pending before the Supreme Court of the United States, and before a final decision had been rendered thereon.

Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In accordance with a suggestion made July 20, 1901, by a commission then representing the State of Mississippi, the controversy over the water boundary between the two States was settled by a friendly suit in the Supreme Court of the United States. This case was entered as an original suit in equity, October 10, 11, 12, 1905, and decided, March 5, 1906. The final decree as entered on April 23, 1906, reads as follows:

"This cause came on to be heard on the pleadings and proofs and was argued by counsel. On consideration thereof it is found by the court that the State of Louisiana, complainant, is entitled to a decree recognizing and declaring the real, certain, and true boundary south of the State of Mississippi, and north of the southeast portion of the State of Louisiana, and separating the two States, in the waters of Lake Borgne and Mississippi Sound, to be, and that it is, the deep water channel sailing line emerging from the most eastern mouth of Pearl River into Lake Borgne and extending through the northeastern corner of Lake Borgne, north of Half Moon or Grand Island, thence east and south through Mississippi Sound, through South Pass between Cat Island and Isle a Pitre, to the Gulf of Mexico, as delineated on the following map, made up of the parts of Charts Nos. 190 and 191 of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, embracing the particular locality:

And it is ordered, adjudged, and decreed accordingly.

It is further ordered, adjudged and decreed that the State of Mississippi, its officers, agents and citizens be, and they are hereby, enjoined

and restrained from disputing the sovereignty and ownership of the State of Louisiana in the land and water territory south and west of said boundary line as laid down on the foregoing map.

And that the costs of this suit be borne by the State of Mississippi.

Provisions for Marking the Boundary.

The decision of the Supreme Court upheld the contention of Louisiana throughout. As a result, Mississippi lost her claim to valuable oyster beds, in which her citizens had taken oysters for an indefinite period, and was by the decree of the court forced to bear all the expenses of the suit. She was, therefore, little concerned about the demarcation of the boundary line, leaving it to her sister State to take the initiative in this important work.

After the lapse of about two years the Legislature of Louisiana, in the session of 1908, passed the following law:

AN ACT

To provide for the buoying and marking of the water boundaries between the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as fixed by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States; to make an appropriation to defray the expenses thereof, and to prohibit the removal or injury or destruction of the marks or buoys, and to provide penalties for the violation of this act.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, That it is hereby made the duty of the chief engineer of the Board of State Engineers to forthwith run and fix the water boundary between the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as fixed by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in the suit of Louisiana versus Mississippi, and mark and buoy the same in such manner as to be reasonably plain and apparent to those navigating those waters.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, etc., That as soon as the said chief engineer is ready to proceed with this work he shall notify the Governor of the time and place at which he intends to begin work, and the Governor shall thereupon notify the Governor of the State of Mississippi to the end that said last named Governor shall have an opportunity to have representation from his State present, should he see fit to do so.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, etc., That the said chief engineer shall purchase, or cause to be purchased, such buoys and such other materials as may be necessary for said work, and the expense of said materials and such other materials as are necessary shall be paid out of the funds collected and paid into the State Treasury by the Oyster

Commission of Louisiana during the fiscal years beginning July 1, 1908, and ending June 30, 1909, and beginning July 1, 1909, and ending June 30, 1910, or either of them, and the sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000.00), or so much thereof, as may be necessary, out of said revenues, is hereby appropriated for this purpose. This appropriation shall be paid out on the warrants of the chief engineer of the Board of State Engineers, countersigned by the president and secretary of the Oyster Commission, and these warrants so drawn and countersigned shall be full authority to the auditor and treasurer for their payment.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, etc., That it shall be unlawful for any one to injure, mutilate, destroy, interfere with, or remove any of the marks or buoys located, placed, anchored or moored by the said chief engineer, under the provisions of this act, and any one guilty of so doing shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) nor more than five thousand dollars ($5,000.00), or by imprisonment at hard labor for not less than one year, nor more than five (5) years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

In the discharge of the duties imposed upon him by this act, the chief engineer of Louisiana, Hon. Frank M. Kerr, happily conceived the idea of enlisting the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in the execution of the task assigned him in the act cited above. On November 11, 1908, he appealed to the proper authorities at Washington for assistance on the ground that he was "not in any way equipped for such special service," and that "all things considered, it would prove far more satisfactory and acceptable to the States of Louisiana and Mississippi to have the line established by disinterested parties," agreeing that "whatever expense, within the limits of the appropriation, incurred be paid by the State of Louisiana as provided in Act 137."

On December 30th of the same year, Governor Sanders of Louisiana addressed the following letter to Governor Noel of Mississippi:

Dear Sir:

Act No. 137 of the General Assembly of Louisiana, session of 1808, provides "for the buoying and marking of the water boundaries between the States of Louisiana and Mississippi from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as fixed by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States," etc.

A copy of the act itself, and of the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States, is enclosed for your further information.

Following the provisions of the act, I beg leave to advise you that the State of Louisiana is about prepared, through its chief engineer, to proceed in the premises, but the thought has occurred to me that, before proceeding with the survey it would be well to confer with you in regard to the matter, with the view, if agreeable to and approved by you, of

inducing the United States, through Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, to undertake, through the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Department, over which he has charge, the demarking, in conjunction with our representatives, of this boundary line for the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, jointly.

This mode of procedure appeals to me, as I feel sure it will to you, in the fact that the demarcation of the boundary in such a way would, no matter how truly and thoroughly it might otherwise be done, and as I feel sure it would be done by our representatives, insure greater dispatch in arriving at definite and final results by removing all thought and question of partisanship that could possibly arise.

The matter has already been tentatively discussed with the authorities in Washington, and I am pleased to say that it was recognized that no legal obstacles existed, and that the disposition of the authorities to assist us in the matter was very evident, provided you and I agreed in the premises, and would address an official request to Hon. Oscar S. Straus to consider them, to the end that he would instruct the superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to detail an officer to attend to and perform the work.

Trusting that the proposition will meet with favor at your hands, and that your request to Secretary Straus will follow at your earliest convenience, I remain,

Respectfully,

J. Y. Sanders,
Governor of Louisiana.

In reply to this communication, Governor Noel wrote on December 31, 1908:

"I note that you are about prepared, through the chief engineer of the Board of Engineers, to mark the boundary between the States of Mississippi and Louisiana, from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as determined by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in the suit of Louisiana vs. Mississippi; and that, probably if we make official request, Hon. Oscar S. Straus would instruct the superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to detail an officer to attend and perform the work in connection with representatives of Louisiana and Mississippi.

I urged the Legislature of this State to appropriate money to defray one-half of the expense of the survey of that line, and regret exceedingly their failure to make such an appropriation. It will give me pleasure to join with you in an application to Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, to undertake, through the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Department, in conjunction with the representatives of Louisiana, the demarcation of the boundary line between our States as settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. If you wish, I can join with you in a letter to Secretary Straus, or we can each write him. Which course do you suggest?

The Governors of Louisiana and Mississippi then addressed the following joint letter to Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, under whose department the Coast and

Geodetic Survey operates, requesting that he authorize the marking of the boundary as set forth in the decree of the Supreme Court:

Sir:

The States of Louisiana and Mississippi are desirous of having demarked, in as thorough and permanent a way as possible, the water boundaries between the two States, extending from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as determined by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the State of Louisiana versus the State of Mississippi.

Each State, as you are no doubt aware, is very largely interested in the location and extent of vast oyster beds extending along its coast in the vicinity of these boundaries, which, under the direction of State commissioners, are being cared for and regulated for commercial purposes.

The need of accurately and impartially demarking the boundaries between the States affecting titles to such valuable property requires no argument or lengthy exposition.

The State of Louisiana, by an act of the General Assembly of 1908, made it "the duty of the chief engineer of the Board of State Engineers to forthwith run and fix the water boundaries between the States of Louisiana and Mississipi, from the mouth of Pearl River to the Gulf of Mexico, as fixed by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in the suit of Louisiana versus Mississippi," etc., and made some provision to defray the cost thereof. A copy of this act, denominated No. 137, is enclosed for your further information.

The General Assembly of the State of Mississippi, at its last session, was urged by its Chief Executive to make similar provision. This, unfortunately, failed of passage, but will be again pressed, with expectations of better success.

In the meantime, it has occurred to those in interest that the good offices of the General Government might, through the Coast and Geodetic Survey, be enlisted in their cause.

In addition to the valuable aid thus sought at your hands, it is recognized that no matter how carefully, thoroughly and impartially the States might, through their local representatives, demark these boundaries, the result could not, all things considered, be as satisfactory and definitely disposed of and accepted as it would be if performed through the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

We, the undersigned Chief Executives of the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, therefore, herein join in a request to you to take the matter under consideration, and, if found consistent with and permissible under the regulations of your department, to detail an officer, or the necessary number of officers, to inquire into the matter, examine into the necessary details, without local representatives, and undertake and prosecute the work required, assuring you of our entire accord in the premises, and our hearty coöperation and assistance in all particulars.

In compliance with this request Mr. Eberhardt Mueller, Assistant in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, was assigned to the work of demarking the boundary line between the two States. Field operations were started on February 13, 1909, and

the work of locating and erecting beacons to mark the boundary line was completed July 6, 1909.

Methods of Field Work.

The methods employed by Mr. Mueller in the field work are given in his report to the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey as follows:

The western part of the boundary is a curved line, the eastern a broken line. Three points in the curved line, so selected that there is a minimum of deviation between the actual boundary and the lines joining these points, were marked. The juncture of the curved and broken lines was marked and three turning points in the broken line. These seven points were marked by two intersecting ranges, the ranges being indicated by beacons specially constructed or other permanent objects already available.

A map on a scale of 1:80000 accompanies the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in the boundary dispute. A photograph of this map was obtained and used in the field work. From this map (or, rather, photograph) the latitudes and longitudes (positions) of each point were scaled. (In the final report the geographic coördinates of points determined are based upon the United States Standard Datum.) Then sufficient beacons were constructed, so that, with those landmarks already available, one point of each range line was marked. Having constructed these, a scheme of triangulation was executed to determine the positions (latitudes and longitudes) of all range points.

Having now the positions of points in the boundary and one of the range points in each case, the azimuth (the angle the line makes with the north and south line) of each range line was computed by a formula much used in geodesy. From a computed azimuth of a range line and another azimuth to a definitely marked triangulation point from the range point, an angle, at the range point, was obtained between visible terrestrial mark and the desired point in the water. This was then laid off with a theodolite and the site for the other range point obtained by simple line projection. After the necessary beacons were all constructed more triangulation was executed to determine the positions of the range points last built, and check computations of azimuths of the range lines were made.

The above is the general scheme. In three cases there was some variation. In one, for instance, two points in the boundary line have a common range. In this case the azimuth of the line joining the two points was computed. A temporary signal was built approximately in the place where the range line prolonged would pass. The error in position was computed after the triangulation was executed. Due allowance was made and the range beacon built. The other range beacon was constructed as in the other cases. The other two instances (in the curved position of the boundary) are alike. In this case the point where the boundary was intersected by the line established by two day marks of the Lighthouse Establishment already built was computed. Procedure in the other range line to mark the computed point was as before.

Beacons specially constructed for this purpose all have (except in the case of the four on Cat Island) a foundation of from 4 to 7, 6″ by 6″ piles 20′ long, driven flush with the ground. Superimposed is a concrete cap about 6″ thick. In this cap and built at the same time so as to be one mass with the cap are concrete two feet square blocks and from 2½′ to 3′ high, to support the wooden superstructure and keep it out of water. Iron castings 2″ x ½″ cross section were set in these blocks; other irons fastened to the superstructure were bolted to these, thus holding the beacon. The beacon was a tripod 15′ to 30′ high, built of wood with a target about 6′ square facing the desired direction. The four on Cat Island differ only in the absence of the piles, the concrete blocks, separate in this case, being set in the sand.

Work of the Final Joint Commission.

When Mr. Mueller's task was nearing completion Governor Noel, on June 21, 1909, addressed the following communication to Major Kerr, Chief Engineer of Louisiana:

Dear Sir:

I have been informed that beacons will be erected marking the range lines indicating the water boundaries between Louisiana and Mississippi sometimes during the first week of July. Governor Sanders has invited me to have Mississippi represented in this work. While there is no present appropriation available for payment of our share of the expense, I shall recommend to the next Legislature payment of one-half of the expense. Mississippi will be represented by Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi, or Col. W. A. Montgomery, Edwards, Mississippi, or both. I shall be pleased to have you notify them of the exact date.

The two commissions[1] met at Dunbar, Louisiana, on the morning of July 5, 1909. After a careful investigation of the methods used by Mr. Mueller in the execution of his orders from the Coast and Goedetic Survey, the commissioners proceeded to an inspection of the work. They used for this purpose a boat belonging to the Louisiana Oyster Commission. The character of this inspection is indicated by the following extract from the report to Governor Noel, prepared by Dr. Riley for the Mississippi commissioners:

It was found that sixteen beacons had been erected according to the report given above, that number being necessary in order to indicate the

[1] The names of the commissioners are as follows: W. A. Montgomery and Franklin L. Riley, representing the State of Mississippi, and L. J. Dossman, Horace H. Harvey, Frank T. Payne and Frank M. Kerr, representing the State of Louisiana.

different range lines, the intersections of which mark the points of departure in the courses. The boat carrying both commissions passed along the deep water channel, which is the boundary line between the two States according to the decision of the Supreme Court. Mr. Mueller's frankness in answering the numerous queries propounded by the Mississippi representatives and the accuracy of his work according to the tests applied convinced the commissioners that the survey had been correctly and impartially made. Careful scrutiny of the methods pursued throughout the survey revealed nothing to which exception could be taken by the State of Mississippi.

The uniform courtesy of the members of the Louisiana Commission and their manifest desire for a continuation of the amicable relations which have existed throughout this controversy were highly creditable to the State they represented.

Correspondence Relative to Placing the Buoys.

A month before the completion of the survey and erection of the beacons, Major Kerr began a correspondence with Commander H. M. Witzel, U. S. N., Lighthouse Inspector of the Eighth District, with his headquarters in New Orleans. Among other things his letter of May 18, 1909, contains the following statements:

Of course, the State is anxious not only to do this buoying strictly in accordance with the directions of the United States, but to profit by the superior knowledge and experience of its constituted authorities in such matters.

As the Coast and Geodetic Survey had no branch office here, the matter, in case of the survey and beacons, was taken up directly with the authorities at Washington, D. C.

In the present instance, however, the Department of Commerce and Labor, being represented here by you, it is felt but proper and courteous that the matter should be brought to the attention of the authorities at Washington, through you.

I, therefore, take it upon myself, in the name of Governor Sanders, to address you, with the view of inducing the United States, through you, to undertake this buoying for the State, just as it did the location and erection of the beacons upon which the demarking of the boundary will depend, through the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The cost of locating and erecting the beacons will probably consume something like seventy-five per cent of the amount of the appropriation, leaving but a small balance for providing buoys. Therefore, resort will, I fear, have to be had to the cheaper form of spar buoys common to shallow waters, if acceptable to the United States.

I enclose you a copy of the decree referred to in the act calling for the demarcation of the boundary, with the chart therein referred to, attached.

I shall be glad to further confer with you about the matter, if desired, and do all in my power to assist in the accomplishment of the proposition.

He found Captain Witzel ready to coöperate in the efforts to enlist the United States Government in the further prosecution of the work necessary to a complete demarcation of the line. Captain Witzel took up the matter with the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington. After some delay the application for authority to establish and maintain buoys received favorable consideration. In the meantime, Major Kerr, with the approval of the commissioners from Louisiana and Mississippi, had requested the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to permit Mr. Mueller to assist in the further work of placing the buoys in position, stating that without this assistance "in an advisory capacity, if no other," the commission would "not only be greatly handicapped in the progress of the work, but put to expenses (in time consumed) which his familiarity with the objects of the survey and of the work so far performed will very greatly reduce." Major Kerr's letter of July 7, 1909, to the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey contains the following reference to Mr. Mueller:

> In this connection, I wish to express to you the very great appreciation of the service rendered by your department, which is felt by our State, and to compliment you upon the representative sent us.
>
> Mr. Mueller, by his strict attention to duty, his intelligent administration in executing the delicate work intrusted to him, his exemplary and uniform gracious courtesy has made friends of all of us.

In accordance with an opinion rendered by the Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor, it was found necessary to apply first to that department for permission to establish the boundary line buoys, on the ground that they were private aids to navigation, as they are intended to mark the deepest channel from the mouth of Pearl River to the sea. Upon the receipt of this application, it was forwarded to the Lighthouse Board, with a favorable recommendation from Mr. Witzel, Inspector of the Eighth Lighthouse District.

The Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor recommended, August 5, 1909, that one of the government boats be detailed to surpervise the markings of this boundary.

Opinion of the Solicitor for the Department of Commerce and Labor.

In an interesting opinion rendered by Charles Earl, Solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor, rendered July 29, 1909, appears the followings facts relative to the placing of the buoys:

The Light House Board invites attention to the fact that there is only a small balance of funds available to the State of Louisiana for providing buoys, and to the absence of any provision on the part of the State for the repair and maintenance thereof, and requests to be advised "as to whether or not the Light House Establishment is authorized to incur any expenses in complying with the request of the State of Louisiana," and desires to be advised further as follows:

1. Can the boundary buoys referred to be construed to be private aids to navigation in contemplation of the act of June 20, 1906, "to authorize additional aids to navigation in the Light House Establishment?"

2. What is the authority of the Light House Establishment relative to the placing and characteristics of these boundary buoys in contemplation of sections 4658 and 4678 of the Revised Statutes?

3. In the event that these boundary buoys should prove to be obstructions to navigation, or misleading to navigators, what rights, if any, would the Light House Establishment have relative to changing the location, or characteristic, or their removal?

It appears that the case of Louisiana vs. Mississipi was a friendly action which was the culmination of a conflict between the citizens of those States with respect to the oyster industry in the waters in question, the former State having passed a statute prohibiting non-residents from fishing oysters and the dredging of oysters in the waters under the jurisdiction of the State.

By the terms of Act of June 20, 1906 (1907 Supp. Comp. Stat. 873) it is made unlawful for any person or municipality not under the control of the Light House Board to establish and maintain in the navigable waters of the United States any light or other aid to navigation similar to those maintained by the United States, without first obtaining permission so to do from the Light House Board, in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

It is very evident from the history of the case of Louisiana vs. Mississippi and the legislation of the former State that, although the proposed buoys and beacons may, in a certain sense, be regarded as aids to navigation, the primary and real purpose thereof is to enable the State of Louisiana to more effectually impose its police power with respect to the taking of oysters from the waters within its jurisdiction.

Section 1, however, of the Louisiana Act, above mentioned, provides that the marking and buoying of the boundary shall be done "in such manner as to be reasonably plain and apparent to those navigating these waters." While it is not expressly shown by the papers submitted to what extent, if any, the marks in question would be used in general navigation, it is presumed that all vessels navigating those waters, whether employed in the oyster trade or not, will direct their courses in accord-

ance therewith. If, therefore, the buoys in question will as a matter of fact serve as aids to navigation, since they are to be erected and maintained by persons not under the control of the Light House Board, I can see no reason why they should not be regarded as private aids to navigation within the meaning of section 3 of the Act of June 20, 1906. The answer to the first question, accordingly, turns on the question of fact indicated, which may appropriately be determined by the officers of the Light House Establishment.

Section 4658 R. S., as amended February 27, 1877, provides in substance that the Light House Board shall discharge all administrative duties relating to "the construction, illumination, inspection and superintendence of light houses, light vessels, beacons, buoys, sea marks, and their appendages," and to procuring supplies and materials of all kinds for building, and for re-building when necessary, keeping in good repair, light houses, light vessels, beacons and buoys of the United States." Section 4678 R. S. provides in substance that all buoys along the coast are in bays, harbors, sounds or channels or channel ways shall be colored and numbered in a certain manner. While both of these sections, standing alone, probably relate exclusively to beacons, buoys and other sea marks erected and maintained by the United States, and belonging to the United States, if considered in connection with section 3 of the Act of June 20, 1906, the general authority they confer is not so limited. The Act of June 20, 1906, is entitled, "An Act to authorize additional aids to navigation in the Light House Establishment" and contemplates, by section 3, that if the permission of the Light House Board is first obtained, aids to navigation other than such as are established by the United States may be erected and maintained in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. By this act the general authority and jurisdiction of the Light House Board conferred by section 4658 R S. is unnecessarily enlarged, but to an extent which is not clearly defined. From the letters of the State Engineer and the inspector of the Eighth Light House District, it is understood that what the State of Louisiana desires is that the Light House Establishment should "Supervise the establishment of the buoys along the boundary line shown by the ranges already established." In view of the supplementary Act of June 20, 1906, I find nothing in section 4658 R. S. which would preclude a compliance with this request. Whether or not these buoys should be colored and marked as prescribed by section 4678 R. S., should the Light House Board consent to supervise the placing of such buoys, is a matter which should be determined by the Light House Board.

The third question submitted by the Lighthouse Board is as follows:

In the event that these boundary buoys should prove to be obstructions to navigation, or misleading to navigators, what rights, if any, would the Light House Establishment have relative to changing their locations, or characteristics, or their removal?

Regarding these buoys as additional private aids to navigation, their discontinuance, as well as their characteristics, would be governed by the rules and regulations established by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, pursuant to section 3 of the Act of June 20, 1906 (Dept. Cir. No. 144, February 26, 1907, par. 7). General jurisdiction to cause the re-

moval of obstructions to navigation as such is vested in the Secretary of War. (See Act of March 3, 1899.)

In conclusion, it may be stated that there appears to be no warrant in law for the expenditure by the Light House Board of any of the funds appropriated for the Light House Establishment in the erection or maintenance of private aids to navigation, as contemplated by the Act of June 20, 1906.

Placing of the Buoys.

In response to a request of Major Kerr, Mr. Mueller returned to New Orleans to aid in placing the buoys for marking the water boundary, but before the work was undertaken he was assigned to other duties. The work was, therefore, done under the supervision of Mr. Isaac Winston, Assistant, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, who proved to be a worthy successor of Mr. Mueller.

A violent storm, which visited the Gulf Coast in the interval between the erection of the beacons and the placing of the buoys, destroyed two of the sixteen beacons established by the survey of Mr. Mueller, and three others which had been previously erected by the Federal Government in connection with its light-house service. As the location of three of the points of departure in the course depended upon these beacons, they had to be replaced before the buoys could be put in position. This work was done at the expense of the State of Louisiana and the Federal Government.

Mr. Winston then proceeded with the work of placing the buoys. The following report, which he made to Major Kerr, May 1, 1910, shows the manner in which his duties were discharged:

I have the honor to inform you that the marking of the boundary between the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, in Lake Borgne and Mississippi Sound, by buoys, has been completed, as requested by you and as authorized by the United States Light House Board.

Six nun buoys were placed, one near each end, and the others at points where the line changes direction. These buoys were placed at the intersection of the ranges established last year by Assistant E. Mueller, of Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Twenty-two spar buoys were used, and these were placed along the line between the nun buoys, at intervals of approximately one mile. The positions of the spar buoys were determned by sextant angles measured on objects ashore whose geographic positions had been previously determined.

A tug and barge (carrying a pile-driver) with a crew of eight men,

four on each, was furnished by you, and also the material for marking the line.

I took charge of the outfit at Dunbar on April 8th, and turned it over to Captain George, representing Doullut & Williams, the owners, at 3 P. M. on Saturday, April 30th.

The outfit was only suitable for use in a comparatively smooth sea, as the tug could not handle the barge with safety in rough water.

Unusually strong winds prevailed during the greater portion of the time, making the water too rough for work and serious delay resulted.

Several accidents also occurred, which caused additional delay.

On April 11th the winch to the pile-driver was broken at 1:30 P. M., and work had to be suspended until noon the next day.

On the 14th, at night, the barge dragged her anchor in strong wind and drifted over a shoal, out of reach of the tug, and all the next day was consumed in getting the barge back into position with the help of a motor-boat which was fortunately found at Cat Island.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * *

On the 23d the tug could not be used on account of a leak in one of the boiler tubes.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

In order to place the buoys in position it was necessary to tow the barge with the tug alongside and to make some sharp turns, hence the difficulty in handling the barge in rough water.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

A report in detail, giving positons of buoys as located, will be made after my return to Washington, and a copy will be furnished to you.

One 20-foot spar buoy, with a 1,250-pound sinker attached, was left at Dunbar, and Mr. Paul Chauvet, manager of the Canning Works, should be communicated with in regard to its preservation.

The light house inspector should be consulted in regard to the care of the buoys, in order to keep them in good conditon.

The eight large shackles purchased, to be used as a balance weight on one of the nun buoys, were not found to be necessary, and they can be returned in order to save expense.

The final inspection of the work was made by the United States Lighthouse officials and representatives of the Board of State Engineers of Louisiana on the 6th day of May, 1910. The buoys are all painted in black and white vertical stripes and are easily discerned by anyone navigating the course. As the maintenance of this line is of prime importance to the protection of the oyster industry of Louisiana, that State will doubtless make

ample provision for protecting and repainting the buoys and replacing such as may be lost from time to time.

The total cost of surveying and marking the boundary amounted to $8,575.48. This expense was borne entirely by the State of Louisiana, according to the obligation which its Legislature had assumed.

EVOLUTION OF WILKINSON COUNTY.

By J. H. Jones.[1]

It is not my purpose to write a history of Wilkinson County. That is included in the history of Mississippi, and of the Natchez District, and this work has been recently and well done by Dr. Franklin L. Riley, in his *School History of Mississippi;* by Dr. Rowland, in his *Historical Sketches,* and in Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi.* These books cite most of the earlier historians, such as Monette, Pickett, Claiborne and others, and are carefully prepared and offer compact and authentic histories to students, and to the reading public. From these authorities I have obtained such information as I needed in the preparation of this article.

I shall try to trace the social, political, and financial growth of this county as an illustration of the evolution which occurred throughout the entire South, and which built up the peculiar civilization which flourished under the institution of slavery.

Before entering upon this subject, I shall relate some incidents, entirely disconnected with it, which may be interesting to readers of the county and perhaps to others.

The western border of Wilkinson County is washed by the waters of the Mississippi River. At one point the chain of hills, known to geologists as the bluff formation, which touches the great river at Vicksburg, at Rodney, and at Natchez, again approaches the river at what is now known as Fort Adams, in Wilkinson County, where these hills terminate abruptly in a lofty height that appears almost mountainous. From the summit of these heights, which look directly down upon the Father of Waters at their base, a magnificient view is had of the valley of the Mississippi, which stretches away across the river towards the west.

---

[1] A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 111, footnote.—Editor.

At the end of the seventeenth century, one of those devoted missionary priests, who were wont to go forth from the French settlements in Canada into the wilds of the Western World to bear the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the benighted Indians, landed at this place. He was probably attracted by the romantic beauty of the scene in choosing his future home. His name, well known to history, was Father Davion; his purpose, to convert the Tunica Indians, who then occupied this part of Wilkinson County and what is now West Feliciana Parish, in Louisiana, which lies south of it.

Father Davion erected a rude cabin upon the romantic summit of the heights, built a little chapel, set up an altar, and entered upon his self-appointed work of saving the souls of the heathen Tunicas. By his gentle manners and loving kindness he soon gained the confidence of the Indians, and then their love. After a few years of patient labor, the good priest won the Indians to the church. They were baptized and became good Catholics in their simple way, doubtless largely attracted to the faith by the beautiful ceremonial of the church ritual.

The years rolled by until the seventeenth century was gone and the eighteenth century had begun, when one morning the good father's little flock assembled at the chapel to hear the customary mass. But he failed to meet them with a blessing, as was his wont. They sought him in the chapel and found their beloved priest on his knees before the altar apparently engaged in prayer. But he was dead. The Christian soldier had fallen in the forefront of battle. He had "fought the good fight," and was called up to receive the "crown of righteousness" which the Lord, the righteous judge, had laid up for him. Tradition tells us that he was buried where his little altar stood, and there he sleeps to-day.

From that time the place was known as Davion's Bluff, until General Wilkinson built a fort at the foot of the hill and named it Fort Adams. Gayarré, the historian and romancer of Louisiana, is authority for this touching story.

Another incident, not generally known but quite authentic, was the discovery of a small cross of Spanish make near the

border of a lake, a few miles below the southern boundary of Wilkinson County and near the Mississippi River. This cross bore the marks of great age and was believed to have been planted by the survivors of DeSoto's ill-fated expedition, who are known to have camped near the mouth of Red River, opposite the place where the cross was found, while they constructed boats to descend the Mississippi River. This explanation of the origin of the cross is not at all improbable. The lake still bears the name of the "Lake of the Cross."

A few miles above this lake, and within the borders of Wilkinson County, was the grave of Daniel Clark, the noted explorer and surveyor whose name is so closely connected with its early history. The site of this grave was an Indian mound in the center of a field on the banks of the great river. As there was no other grave near it the presumption is that this site was of Clark's own selection. The grave was marked by a marble shaft which was seen by the writer but a few years ago. But it was not to be "the last resting place" of Daniel Clark. The rapacious river coveted the soil in which he slept and swallowed it up, and his bones now lie with those of DeSoto within its murky depths. It is not creditable to those who resided near the grave that such desecration should have been permitted. But Daniel Clark was dead. What did it matter to the living? Like Logan, there "was none left to mourn 'for him,' no, not one." Even his name was almost forgotten, save when it was read in evidence in some law suit over a British or a Spanish land-grant.

Another incident out of the usual I will relate. Early in the last century the county was sparsely settled in some portions, particularly in the hilly sections near the Mississippi River. This section was a dense jungle of hills and hollows covered with cane and tangled vines, which afforded shelter to numerous wild beasts.

Some gentlemen hunting one day in this almost impenetrable forest in pursuit of "big game" which was plentiful, aroused an animal that bore some resemblance to a human being. It fled swiftly before the hounds, and took refuge in a small lake near the river and caused by its annual overflow. The creature swam

like an amphibious animal, and concealed itself among the reeds and rushes which grew in the lake.

This startling discovery caused much excitement and a hunt was organized and the creature captured.

It proved to be a veritable "man of the woods," who had completely reverted to a state of nature and was as wild and savage as any beast of the field or of the forest. He was confined and the process of taming and humanizing him began. Great difficulty was experienced in teaching him to eat the food of civilization. He had lived upon fish and reptiles and refused all cooked food. This difficulty was finally overcome.

After becoming accustomed to his new surroundings, "Wild Bill," as he was named, was able to recall the only words he was ever known to utter, "daddy killed mammy with an axe." The horrible picture of his mother's murder had been so deeply impressed upon his brain that years of savagery and utter loneliness could not efface it, and even the words which described it were recalled from the dim past by the presence of human beings with whom his recollection of the dreadful scene was associated.

From this it would appear that "Wild Bill" was no longer a child when abandoned by his inhuman father, and that this father was probably one of the river pirates who infested the Mississippi River at that early period. It is further manifest that the boy was of sufficient age to provide for himself the crude living of a wild animal, and, so growing up to manhood in the wilds of the woods, and cut off entirely from human companionship, he became like a beast. Here we have a striking object lesson, showing how the animal in man, despite his intellect, may, under favorable conditions, revert back and closely approach the animal in beasts.

The fate of "Wild Bill" was a sad one. He could not adapt himself to his new environment, and in spite of the great care bestowed upon him, he pined away and died.

It is somewhat remarkable that he quickly acquired a taste for strong drink, and would get "gloriously drunk," like other "jolly good fellows," if he could obtain it. Perhaps this was due to heredity.

This is a true story. The Hon. Jas. A. Ventress, of Wilkinson County, who was so favorably known in the early history of Mississippi, was an eye-witness to these facts, which he detailed to his sons, and Judge Ventress related them to me.

At Fort Adams is laid part of the scene of Edward Everett Hale's unique story, "A Man Without a Country."[2] It was there, according to the story, that Lieutenant Philip Nolan cursed his country, and it was there that his terrible punishment began. Peradventure, after a century or two, if the story lives so long, the ruins of the old fort will become a classic, and the sleepy old town will have romantic interest.

But it is quite time to return from this long and rambling excursion into the fields of incident and to begin at the beginning of my subject.

The history of the Natchez District, which includes that of Wilkinson County, does not go back very far into the past, although an occasional explorer, like LaSalle or Tonti came down the Mississippi River from Canada, and an occasional missionary priest, like Father Davion, settled among the Indians along its borders in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth, the Natchez District was practically unsettled by white men until the establishment of Fort Rosalie by Bienville at Natchez in 1716. After that it increased slowly in population until the British came into possession in 1763. From that time the population increased more rapidly.

The lands along the Mississippi River were exceedingly fertile and attracted settlers. Large grants of land were made to British officers; immigrants came from Georgia and South Carolina, and later on the outbreak of the Revolutionary War drove many loyalists from the colonies to seek a refuge in these wilds where the British authority was still paramount. Many of these immigrants were persons of means and brought with them their slaves and other property. Later on, as the settlers prospered and the rich lands were cleared up, more slaves were brought

[2] See Hale's "The Real Philip Nolan," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV, 281-329.—Editor.

in from the Atlantic seaboard, while others were imported from the West Indies through Pensacola and New Orleans.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Wilkinson County had largely increased and some towns and villages had been established. That most eccentric of all wandering evangelists, Lorenzo Dow, visited the county in 1803, after it had passed under the American flag. He preached at Fort Adams and Pinckneyville and Woodville. He gives a most interesting account of the county in his *Journal,* a copy of which I was so fortunate as to read through the courtesy of the Rev. W. H. Featherstun.

The census of 1810 gave the population of the county as 5,068. I once read a letter from Jefferson Davis, written from Beauvoir to a citizen of this county, which was afterwards destroyed in a fire, stating that at the beginning of the War of 1812 there were fifteen hundred men in the county capable of bearing arms. He paid a high compliment to their patriotism and valor, as most of them desired to volunteer but could not be accepted. Yet many of them served under General Hines at New Orleans.

From this time forward there was a marked change in the county, both in population and in wealth, and the evolution of its history, which I propose to trace, advanced rapidly. The white population in the fertile portions of the county had attained its highest mark, and thenceforth it steadily decreased.

The large plantations began to absorb the smaller ones, the owners of the latter being tempted to sell by the large prices offered. The small farmers moved to sections where lands were less fertile and therefore cheaper, and where they could be free from the dominating influence of their more powerful neighbors.

Thus the rich valleys of the county and its fertile uplands were consolidated into large plantations, owned by a few persons but cultivated by hundreds of slaves. These estates were lordly indeed and they were not unlike the great manors of the feudal age in their extent and wealth.

The power of the master over his slaves was little less than that of the feudal lord over his serfs, though any cruel abuse of that power was the exception and not the rule. It was not to the

interest of the planter to abuse or to impair the value of his property.

The ample revenues from these magnificent domains of which the labor received no part, enabled the planter and his family to live in ease and luxury, which was very conducive to the elegance and refinement which distinguished the social life of the Old South.

They toiled not, neither did they spin, and they possessed abundant leisure for the cultivation of the intellectual and the aesthetic side of life. For this reason, and because perhaps, they had a somewhat false conception of the true dignity of labor, those sons of the wealthy who possessed brains and ambition devoted themselves mostly to literary and professional pursuits or to politics. This explains the leading part taken and the commanding influence exercised by Southern statesmen in national politics in the early days of the Republic.

In this favored class the women were treated with a deference and respect quite equal to that accorded them in the days of chivalry, and they were surrounded with the luxuries of an Eastern palace. Unfortunately ease and luxury enervate, and so the butterfly and the carpet knight were to be found among them. But it is somewhat surprising that when war came both these classes disappeared. There were no more gallant men in the ranks of the Confederate armies than the sons of the rich planters; there were no more self-sacrificing and devoted women than their daughters. This proves that the virility of American manhood is not easily destroyed and that true womanhood will rise equal to every demand. A generation later this truth was again demonstrated by the sons of New York millionaires at San Juan Hill.

There was still another class of people in the old South whose status, like that I have just described, was determined by the character of the soil which they owned and cultivated. This class comprised the farmers of moderate means who had gradually retired before the aggressive advance of wealth as I have already shown.

The lands to which they migrated were of fair fertility and

afforded good returns to the cultivator. This class was fairly prosperous, many of them becoming moderately wealthy and owning slaves as a rule. They lived the simple life and had good schools everywhere, but neither desired nor imitated the extravagance and luxury of the large planters. They labored with their hands, and their sons and daughters were taught to do the same. They were the bone and sinew of the Old South, as are their descendants largely to this day.

There still remained a third class, composed of those who were unable to acquire homes in the other sections and so retired into the pine forests, piney woods as they are usually termed, and other places where lands were too poor to tempt the rich. They settled on small farms along the water courses and raised stock of all kinds in the wild wastes of the woods. Their lives were simple, their wants were few, and their education usually limited to the curriculum of the primary schools. But they were a sturdy, independent race, and in the supreme test of war they proved themselves the equals of the more favored classes in patriotism and courage upon every battlefield. Theirs was a more unselfish sacrifice, for they had no broad acres to defend and no slaves to hold in bondage.

Thus have I tried to trace the evolution of the Old South through more than a century, up to its culmination in a splendid social fabric, founded upon slavery, and to a unique civilization that had no parallel in ancient or in modern times. But these conditions, evolved in a century, were swept away by a revolution of four years

In the beginning of this article I wandered afar without reference to the subject. In the middle of it I tried to write on my subject, and at the end I propose to indulge in another digression and try to write of the war as it should be regarded after nearly a half of a century.

It was so vast in its proportions, so tremendous in its results, that it challenges the profound thought of any man. To us the question still remains, "Was the result for good to the South, or was it for ill?"

The few old veterans who still linger (in the light of the

bloody sacrifice they offered up so vainly, and with the memory of the wreck and ruin of the war still fresh and green around them) could not be expected to see aught but ill in the furling of the "conquered banner." But more than a generation has lived and died since its ending, and there should be some who can study the causes and the results of the Civil War with judicial minds and render a true verdict at the bar of history.

The South stood isolated and alone in all the Christian world as an aggregation of slave-holding States. The best judgment of modern civilization was opposed to human slavery. In the North a powerful political party was already organized and pledged to abolition in the United States, by legal means if possible, while fanatical members of it openly advocated the destruction of slavery by force if necessary. But the wealth of the South and its social conditions, which I have tried to describe, rested upon slavery, and to surrender it peacefully was impossible. The war, therefore, was inevitable.

Books have been published and learned treatises written to prove that slavery was not the origin of the Civil War and that it was fought out on constitutional grounds. Perhaps so—in theory—but it remains true that the Civil War would never have occurred but for slavery.

In my judgment, the South had approached the zenith of its prosperity in 1861, or rather a prosperity that was shared by all its white citizens. Its prosperity at that time was largely for the few, not for the many. The conditions were fast becoming like those the government is assailing to-day as dangerous to its existence. In other words, the South was rapidly becoming a slave-holding oligarchy whose wealth consisted largely of slaves. The following statistics will show the rapid growth of this kind of prosperity in Mississippi:

In 1810, the census showed an increase of 389 per cent. in slaves for the past decade; in 1820, it showed an increase of 239 per cent.; in 1830, 145 per cent; in 1840, 327 per cent., and in 1850, 50 per cent. At the last date here given the slaves in Mississippi numbered 309,878, or 49 per cent. of its population. In 1850 the aggregate wealth of the State was $228,951,130. Ten

years later it had nearly doubled, due largely to the increase of slave property. In 1860 there must have been 424,000 slaves in the State. I have not the exact figures, but from the rate of increase for fifty years there could not have been less. These slaves represented one-half the assessed value of all property of the State in 1860. As the property of the State was assessed in round numbers at $607,000,000 in 1860, and at $209,000,000 in 1870, they must have represented more than one-half.

It is clear that such a rapid accumulation of this human property must have ultimately proved destructive to the South. It might have been fifty years, or it might have been a hundred years, but the South would either have been finally smothered under the weight of its own servile hordes, or been overwhelmed by insurrection like Hayti, a fate she always feared.

There has been another change even more important. In the Old South there were no avenues to wealth other than planting, save the learned professions, literature, politics, merchandising and the mechanical arts, and these only in the towns and cities. There was no demand for white farm labor. The negro slave supplied that. The white laborer was not desirable and was not needed. In the country the artisan found the doors barred against him. Each planter had its own corps of mechanics for it was to his interest to do so. Such conditions as these were prohibitive of personal enterprises and were opposed to the general prosperity of the country.

But all this was changed by the war. The door to individual effort was thrown wide open; planting was no longer a monopoly; brawn and brain and character became good collateral in business, and capital was ready to accept them as such; large planters began to sell or lease their holdings and small, prosperous farms sprang up everywhere. As a result, the country began to increase in production, and its wealth was better distributed. The State has more than recovered all of its financial losses due to the war, including the loss of the slaves, and it is increasing in wealth with marvelous rapidity. I have not access to the United States census reports of 1900, but will take the assessments of Wilkinson County to demonstrate the truth of this assertion. The census of 1880 gives

the value of all property in the county at $1,495,686. According to the assessment roll of 1900, the valuation has risen to $1,969,336, an increase of more than 25 per cent. for each decade. The valuation in 1909 was $2,867,349, approximately an increase of about 10 per cent. a year.

I shall cite only one other fact which may suggest the idea that the failure of secession may not have been all a curse to the South, nor would its success have been all a blessing. History nowhere records an instance of two hostile peoples, separated by an artificial boundary, a sort of geographical chalk-mark, as it were, living in peace with each other. Powerful nations are usually divided from each other by well-defined natural boundaries. The Pyrenees, between France and Spain, and the Alps, between Italy and France, afford an illustration of this truth. Had the South succeeded in severing the Union and establishing the Southern Confederacy upon the basis of slavery, there must have been a constant border strife along the boundary from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rio Grande. With the inhabitants upon each side bitterly hostile to each other; with slavery on one side, a constant source of friction, and reprisals on both, the cause of frequent collisions, there could have been no peace. The inevitable result must have been that what is now a great and powerful nation, one that is impressing itself for good upon the history of the world, as God designed it should, would have been shorn of its strength and have existed only to excite the contempt and to invite the aggression of its rivals.

Let each of my readers consider these things and answer for himself whether or not it was better for the South, and for the whole country, and for posterity, that the Civil War should have ended as God seems to have ordained that it should.

ANTEBELLUM TIMES IN MONROE COUNTY.

By R. C. Beckett.[1]

My father and Mr. Eyre Spann moved from South Carolina together about the year 1838 in "prairie schooners" or covered wagons, or, as they were then called, "Tennessee wagons." My father, Dr. James McKinney Beckett, stopped at Pickensville, in Pickens County, Alabama, and Mr. Spann crossed the Tombigbee River and settled in Noxubee County, Mississippi. My father was married in 1840, and settled on his farm, where I was born on August 24th, 1845, about a mile and a half below Pickensville. He became a member of the Alabama Senate, a Cass presidential elector, and a trustee of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa.

There is a wide belt extending from Alabama to the farthest limits of Western Arkansas, in which there is scarcely a *locus in quo* where families cannot be found which originated secondarily in Pickens County, Alabama, and primarily in North and South Carolina. To keep up with the prevailing fashion, in February, 1853, my father moved to Monroe County, Mississippi, the overseer, hands, live stock, etc., taking the dirt road through Columbus, and the family, with all the household effects, going on the steamboat, *Sallie Spann.*

A nephew of my father, Rev. Richard Gladney, familiarly known to the relatives as "Cousin Richard," but to the outside world as "Parson Gladney," had a flourishing female college on the site now occupied by the public school in Aberdeen; also a beautiful residence in a suburb called Gladneyville. My father bought a black land plantation about twelve miles northwest of Aberdeen on one of the dirt roads to Okalona, and a sandy land farm on the same road, about two miles from Aber-

[1] A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 177-178, footnote.—Editor.

deen, and we lived in the Gladneyville residence during 1853, while he was having a two-story frame residence built by Mr. Ranson on the sandy land place. We lived in this new residence during the year 1854, and until the latter part of 1855, when he sold this farm to Mr. M. P. Edde and moved on the black land plantation.

Mr. Edde was a very close, miserly man. It is a well authenticated fact that in the period of the Civil War, at a meeting in his home, at which he served almonds, then very scarce, he passed the waiter around, inviting each guest to "have an almond." But when he came to a very particular friend, he would say out aloud, "have an almond," and then leaning over close to him would say, *sotto voce,* "take two."

In those days either peas or pumpkins were planted with the corn in very rich land. Pumkin bread was a favorite dish. There were no steel plows, and in the prairie and black lands the damp ground and mud would stick to cast iron plows so that they could not be used. Turning plows were finally made with an iron point, but wooden mold-boards. The wood would wear very sleek and smooth.

When we moved to the plantation we lived on the big road on the west side of it, in the settlements already built, during the first part of 1856. While we built on the east side of Matubba Creek a nice six-room, chinked and plastered, log-house, with a row of frame "Shanghai," servants' houses, cribs, stables, etc. On the west side of this creek our neighbors were a Mr. Tindall, Dr. Ben Sims, brother-in-law of Major Wm. H. Vasser, Colonel English, father-in-law of Colonel R. O. Reynolds, and others. On the east side lived the families of Word, Woods, Baker, and Peters. We moved over there in the fall of 1856. In Gladneyville our neighbors were General Bradford and Mrs. Holloway, mother of Ira G. Holloway, afterwards of Oxford.

Between a quarter and a half-mile southwest of our new home, in the woods, was a circular Indian mound, twelve or fifteen feet high. At the base of this mound we made a brick kiln for plantation use, and used the mound itself, which was very rich, for a turnip-patch. In plowing over the mound many

arrow heads and Indian relics were turned up within a few inches of the surface. I wonder what was down in it!

During the two years that we were on the plantation, the army and boll worm almost totally destroyed the cotton crops. Everybody became discouraged, and my father began looking around for a more certain investment.

Mr. Ben Gullett, of Aberdeen, had obtained a patent for an improved cotton gin. Having little means himself, he had pursuaded Cousin Richard Gladney to go into partnership with him. They were manufacturing the gins in a small frame building under the hill. In this contingency my father bought out the interest of Cousin Richard, and in the latter part of 1857 moved into Aberdeen, renting at first from Judge Houston a residence on the northeast corner of the block, across the street west of the courthouse, which had just been finished, the county seat having been moved from Athens[2] to Aberdeen.

He and Mr. Gullet concluded to separate and divide territory. Mr. Gullett took the region west of the Mississippi River and located his factory at Amite City, Louisiana. My father took the region east of the river and formed a partnership with Dr. John L. Tindall, of Aberdeen. They established their factory on the ground now occupied by the Kansas City Railroad depot. It was about four hundred feet long, north and south along Maple street, by about two hundred feet wide. It consisted of two long brick buildings, each about forty feet wide and separated by a driveway twenty feet wide, which was bricked up at each end, with a large double gate at each end for ingress and egress

In the south end of the west building was the workshop of Mr. Hays, who made all the patterns for molding; a place for the finished castings; a place for the molds, and a place where the molding was done; the blast furnace and stack, wherein the cast iron was melted; a blacksmith shop, and last, in the north end, a place for the different parts of the gins before they were assembled in the complete gin.

---

[2] For a sketch of this extinct town, see Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* V, 359-360.—Editor.

In the other, or east building, was first the bookkeeper's office and the general headquarters office, in the south end; also a space for the finished gins. There was an upper story, open at the front end, with no steps, but with a wide incline going up gradually so that gins and heavy materials could be carried up and down on trucks.

In the lower story, on the left-hand side, were the lathes for iron and steel, the blast fan for the molding stock, the emery wheels for finishing the front side of the breast ribs for the gins, the dies for cutting the gin saws, etc., etc. On the right-hand side, including a brick offset, was the engine, flywheel, etc., and farther along, in the north end, a general store place.

Upstairs were, first, the wool-cleaning and wool-carding machines, next the flour mill, next the corn mill, and, in the north end, the planing and tongue and grove machines, band and circular saws, etc.

Outside, in a separate brick building, built about fifty feet away to reduce the cost of insurance, was the dry lumber kiln. In order to raise funds for these extensive additions and improvements my father sold his plantation to Mr. Bumpass and took in part payment a two-story brick residence at the north end of Franklin street, leading past the Female College to Matubba Creek. The residence and outhouses were on the brow of the hill overlooking the creek bottom, where he had forty acres in cultivation. We moved there from the Houston house.

I went to the high school of Dow and Wightman during the spring session of 1858, and the terms of 1858-1859, 1859-1860 and 1860-1861. I got the gold medal for "excellence in scholarship" for the term ending June 30, 1859, and was thereafter barred from competing for it, but always received the blue ribbon in the shape of a blue rosette. I am wearing the gold medal yet. The school was broken up by the war, in the spring of 1861, and both of my teachers, one of whom was Mr. Dow, originally from Massachusetts, joined the Confederate Army.

In the spring of 1861, I became the bookkeeper and superintendent of the wool-carding and the wheat and corn mills. On January 1, 1862, I was made the general bookkeeper, in place of

Mr. James W. Gordon, who had also gone to the army. Mr. Carlisle, the bookkeeper for the large dry-goods store of Barker & Parrish, and father of Editor Louis T. Carlisle, of the *West Point Leader,* was employed to assist me with the books, after Mr. Gordon left. Wool was brought for many miles from every direction, as was also the wheat.

After the wool had gone through the cleaning machine, it was fed to the carding machine, where, after passing through a great number of rollercards, it was dropped in little rolls about the size of a man's thumb into a circular trough. When this trough was full the rolls were tied in bundles and packed in sacks. The wool-carding machines did not run continuously, and the wheat mill was kept busy almost all the time, but the corn mill was generally overcrowded, getting days and sometimes even weeks behind, so that we had to run it at dinner time, 12 to 1:30 o'clock to catch up. The capacity of the corn and wheat mill was each ten bushels an hour. The wheat when cleaned and ground went into a long, octagonal gauze sifter, larger at the farther end so that when revolving the ground wheat was gradually shaken to that end. The first compartment was of fine gauze, so that only the fine "No. 1 flour" passed through into hoppers or funnels, conducting it into sacks attached to the lower end of the funnel. The next compartment sifted out the "seconds" through coarser cloth. The third sifted out the "shorts," and the last was where the bran was collected.

About this time it became hard to raise wheat on account of the rust, which would attack it, and cause it during a rain or rainy spell, about cutting time, to fall flat down so that it could not be cut. But the farmers thought they had overcome this trouble by soaking the seed wheat in bluestone water before planting it. It was easy to raise from twenty-five to thirty bushels to the acre.

For the foundry, we bought up all the old cast-iron wheels, stoves and cast-iron, in any and all forms, for miles around, but had to import the balance needed in pig-iron by steamboats until the railroad came and the steamboats were discontinued. We reached the point where we imported nothing but the cir-

cular plates, or disks, from which the saws were cut with our dies, and the necessary amount of pig-iron for the castings. Everything else, except for the foundry, was homemade.

We had begun making cooking utensils, stoves, wheels and all kinds of cast-iron implements for home and farm when the war came on. All this kind of work was then stopped, and the factory was converted into a gun and cannon factory. We were making on an average of a gin a day. They were 45, 50, 60, 70 and 80-saw gins, and sold at the regular price of $5 a saw. The 80-saw, and frequently the 70-saw gins, were run by steam. The capacity was from two to twelve bales of cotton a day, according to the number of saws. J. M. Matheny was superintendent of the gin department.

We bought no food products from abroad, except a little flour and a little mess pork or rather hogs. Each farmer would generally make a trip to Mobile in the winter, settle with his commission merchants, and buy such extra flour and groceries as he needed for the ensuing year. There were no country or town cotton buyers as at present. The steamboats came up to Aberdeen until the Mobile and Ohio Railroad was built and ready for business. Our stations then were Prairie and Egypt for freight, and Prairie for passengers. The dirt road in winter was almost impassable. As a general thing we did not buy pork, except now and then a little fat bulk pork, but every year droves of hogs would be driven through the country from Tennessee and North Alabama, and the farmers who were newcomers or did not raise enough meat for home consumption would select their supply and buy the hogs on foot from these droves.

Negroes were also brought through for sale from Virginia and colder climates. Negro traders were called "speculators" by the white people and "speckled ladies" by the negroes. The most prominent negro trader was old Ned Herndon, who was hard to get money out of. After selling a number of negroes one day, he felt so good that he got on a little private spree with some of his friends. He slept that night at the hotel, and next morning raised a terrible "rumpus," claiming that he had been

robbed. One of these friends stepped in and, hearing the row, told him that he had not been robbed, but had simply paid an honest debt, and had a receipt somewhere for it. The old man examined his pocketbook more closely and, sure enough, he found this gentleman's receipt for the money. Of course, this man had taken out the exact amount of the drunken man's debt and placed the receipt in the pocketbook. The old man looked astounded. He exclaimed that if he was that big a fool he would never drink again, and he never did. This was his own explanation of his later habit of total abstinence.

Bill Walton kept the hotel under the hill, near where the Illinois Central Railroad crosses Commerce street, before the upper hotel, or Gordon House, under James D. McAlister, was built. The old hotel was known as the "Walton House." It was a frame two-story building, with a veranda around the two street fronts of both stories. Behind it were the great wooden warehouses for storing cotton bales, and steamboat freight. On the river, where the steamboats landed, at the mouth of a drain, was the boy's wash hole, about seventy-five yards below the railroad bridge.

About a half-mile farther up, at the mouth of Mutabba Creek, was a ford. About a half-mile farther below was Rover's lumber mill, first owned by Dr. R. H. Dalton, and afterwards by brave Colonel Rover, who with his horse, and at the head of his regiment, was killed on top of the breastworks in the bloody battle of Franklin. About a half-mile still farther down, where the county bridge now is, was Howard's Ferry, and still farther down, at the south end of the sandy land, Whitfield farm, was another ford, all across the Tombigbee River.

In circus times Bill Walton was the boys' great friend. He would assemble a crowd of boys, and stand beside the big tent, and when the show started and the tent was full of people, he would raise the cloth and the little fellows would run under and mix with the crowd inside. This would generally lead to a row with the show people, but in those days a show without a row was not complete.

Mr. Wash Coopwood was once mayor of Aberdeen. He fined

a young man for disorderly conduct. The man's friends besought the mayor to remit the fine, saying there were always two sides to a case, that the young gentleman had been unwarily led astray, etc. The mayor finally exclaimed:

"Well, young gentlemen, there are two sides to some questions, and I will remit the fine, but there are not two sides to every question. For instance, there is not a dust of meal at home, and the costs must come."

Mr. Meserole, of Miffleton and Meserole, the carriage and harness firm, was the smallest man in town and Miss Simpson, the milliner, was the largest lady in the community. They were married. A day or two afterwards, when my oldest brother, Newton, was passing their residence he saw the bride shaking a sheet out of a back window. He called to her and asked her if she was hunting for Meserole, and the joke spread.

My former school teacher, James Wightman, was a great practical joker. One day, when he had just returned home after the war, while he was riding along the highway, he met another ex-Confederate. They got to talking over war incidents and finally Mr. Wightman, who was of Irish extraction, suggested that they get down and take a drink. The stranger assented, but asked where was anything to drink. Mr. Wightman told him he could supply it. So they got down, sat on a log, and Mr. Wightman pulled from an inside overcoat pocket a bottle of whiskey, and together they took a good "horn." They then got fluent and after awhile Mr. Wightman suggested to the stranger that it was his time to treat. The stranger willingly assented, but said he had plenty of money but no whiskey. To this Mr. Wightman answered that his condition was just the reverse, and he offered to furnish the whiskey for the cash. So the stranger paid for a drink apiece. Then, after more talk, Mr. Wightman treated again and then the stranger, and so on. As a consequence, Mr. Wightman had all he wanted to drink, treated his companion constantly, and had more money than he started with. This was certainly high finance.

Whiskey was then worth 25 cents a drink, but before the war it could be had at the saloons of Joe Brassfield and Sam Strawhorn, under the hill, for five cents. Fine, clear Tennessee white

whiskey sold, before the war, for 25 cents a gallon. The first time lager beer was sold in Aberdeen was about 1860, when old man Winkler, about as thick as he was long, came there and set up a little beer saloon in a small one-story frame house on Commerce street, not far east from the corner where the opera house now stands. As there were no ice factories, the annual supply of ice was collected in the winter time from the surface of the ponds and lakes and stored in a square, underground, cemented reservoir, about twenty feet deep and sixteen feet square. This reservoir had a rough frame covering, was walled us around the sides, and a descending ladder, with sawdust for a preservative. It was on a vacant space of ground, just across Maple street, east of the Gordon House, and on the site now covered by the building beneath Captain E. O. Sykes' law office.

Old man Charley McClellan was postmaster. He was short, fat and "stumpy," had straggling snow-white hair and beard and a sour disposition. He kept a keg of liquor, the contents of which would sometimes cause him to lose his equilibrium, and when he was feeling bad from his attempts to "sober up," he would get a stick and lambast his keg, exclaiming vehemently, "Make Charley drunk, eh! Goin' to give you a good beatin'. Don't think you'll do it any more when I get through with yer." He always wore the same blue suit, the blue coat buttoned up in front with brass buttons, and was a most striking reminder of "Old Grimes is dead."

Out in the country, it was customary for parties of white men to ride about at nights to see that the negroes did not leave their homes, or get up any secret assemblies. They were called "paterollers" (patrolers), and this gave rise to the negro ditty, "Run, nigger, run, the patterroler catch you." Other favorite negro songs were, "Old Dan Tucker," "Rye Straw," and many other such nonsensical airs.

The male school was built "Shanghai fashion," that is of rough, upright lumber. It was situated in a grove of pines on the northwest corner of the block on which the Female College was located. In a frame cottage on this same lot our present able Chief Justice, Albert H. Whitfield, was reared. Later, a

beautiful two-story male school building was erected in a field among a clump of shade trees farther out on the Gladneyville Road, but the war coming on, this was never used for more than a part of the spring term of 1861.

Mr. Wilkes lived about a mile and a half from the business part of the city and supplied it with fruits and early vegetables. He had a little spring wagon for the purpose, driven by an old mulatto woman named Aunt Mariah. He made money and finally bought a fine carriage in which the family drove to Sunday-school and church. One night some bad boys secured a paint bucket, and while the team was hitched and the family in church, they painted on the vehicle in bold letters:

"Who'd a thought it,
Apples bought it,
If you think I'm a liar,
Just ask Aunt Mariah."

The original male school building was a two-story brick house on the east side of Hickory street, next to the residence of General Griffin, on the northeast corner of Commerce and Hickory streets. This was taught by Crawford and others, but was discontinued when Dow and Wightman built a schoolhouse of their own as above related. Such a thing as coeducation was not to be thought of. And I seriously doubt whether coeducation is for the best, as it is gradually destroying the courtliness and chivalry of young Southern manhood, and we are gradually getting to be no better than other people.

The first store on the hill, I believe, was the two-story brick store of Bowman & Clopton, on the southwest corner of Maple and Commerce streets. Across Maple street from it, and across Commerce street in front of the Gordon House, was afterwards the dry-goods store of Summey, Strong & King, next south, on the west side of Maple street, was the saddlery and harness store of Truland, and across the street in front of Truland's was the livery stable, kept first by James D. McAlister and afterwards by J. T. Cason. On the southeast corner of the Merchants' Block, on Maple street next to Truland, and just south

of him, was the Baptist Church lot and brick church. It was sustained by such prominent families as the Evanses, Hatchs, Whitfields, Ward, Walton, Love, J. G. Randle and Sidney Randle, the last of whom was my wife's father.

The Presbyterian Church was on the northwest corner of the same block, at the southeast corner of Meridian and Commerce streets, just opposite where the opera house now is, on the site now occupied by the J. W. Eckford or Phoenix drug store. Its main supporters were my father, Dr. J. L. Tindall, Dr. Needham Whitfield, Mr. Carlisle, the father of the editor to whom reference has already been made, the families of Judge Houston, Colonel Reynolds, Mr. Gibson, the Gladneys and Dr. Sims.

The Methodist Church was a frame structure on the same site as the present brick building. Its main supporters were the Sykes, Strongs, Cloptons, Barker, Prewitt, Lake, Wilkes, Bishop and Paines.

The congregations of the Episcopal, Christian and Catholic Churches were small, that of the Episcopal Church being composed principally of the Haughstons, Vassers and Smiths. These three churches were each built on their present sites. The Episcopal Church was built about 1857, and so was the Christian Church. I do not know when the Catholic Church was built, though I went to school in its basement during the school term of 1857-1859.

The artesian well in front of the Gordon House was make about the year 1857 and that in front of the Female College about the year 1860.

While the courthouse was in course of construction, an attempt was made to make the courthouse square the center of the town. Just across the street, east from its northeast corner, near the site of the present county jail, was erected a two-story frame hotel which never came into general use. Across the front of the street, north of courthouse square, was erected a long row of one-story brick law offices, but they did not prove popular and the lawyers soon moved back on Commerce street. On the southwest corner of the same block, across the street, north from the northwest corner of courthouse square, was erected a city mar-

ket-house of brick, two-stories high. In the upper story was the lodge-room, and the rear of the lower story was made of brick and divided by a brick partition into two iron-grated rooms, the east room being the city calaboose. The west room was at first used as a temporary place of confinement for prisoners during court times, the regular county jail being still at Athens, seven miles northeast of Aberdeen, across the Tombigbee River. On the northwest corner of the same block, north of the market-house was erected another two-story frame hotel, which, a few years ago, was still there in a dilapidated condition. The market-house and lodge-room fell into disuse. Thus the effort to build the town around the courthouse square failed.

The following extracts from a letter of September 14, 1909, from Major S. A. Jonas, editor of the *Aberdeen Examiner*, gives an interesting sketch of the early newspapers of Aberdeen:

I came to Aberdeen on the survey for the extension of the N. O., Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, in the civil engineering corps, in 1859, a boy just off the surveys for the Tepauntepec R. R., in South Mexico. The papers at that time were the *Sunny South*, first started by Col. Mat Galloway, and then published by Harvey Boyd, and the *Conservative*, published by Tom Caine, who now publishes the Bastrop, Texas, *Advertiser*, and who will and can gladly furnish you with all the newspaper genealogy antebellum. Among Aberdeen's noted old-time editors were Mat Galloway, who founded the Memphis *Avalanche;* Giles M. Hillyer, who afterwards ran a paper at Natchez—a famous orator; Major William H. Vasser; John Vesey and others. While engineering before the war—to which I went from Aberdeen—I wrote frequently for both the papers, "poetry" and editorials. One poem of those days was called "The Jug in the Culvert, Close By," founded upon finding a jug in the old brick culvert under the M. and O. depot grounds, while I was measuring up the work. It was kept there by the boys who used to parade by the female seminary near. I would like to strike a copy of that old jingle.

Right after the war I went in with Harvey Boyd and Paralous Mann in resurrecting the *Sunny South*, which we made a daily, but I got tired of the combination, as I was paying Boyd's sister a rental of $25 a month on my share. I found Capt. J. A. Shoup had a lot of material, but no press up at Corinth, and I rented that from him. But when I went for it I found all the type had been dumped "promiskus" in a shoe-box. Groom and I formed a partnership to publish *The Examiner*, and by the aid of several boys we sprawled the type out on the floor—only one now living is Jim Leeman, at Birmingham—and in the course of ten days had them sorted out. In the meantime, we had bought an old, rusty press that we found in a warehouse, and were fixed for business, and prepared to publish the *Daily Examiner*. We set it up and issued it without a single subscriber or advertiser. We delivered it, however, to every one and took the chances.

We had to have a large amount of standing matter, and to secure this, we clipped out scores of advertisements from metropolitan journals, and were highly complimented by exchanges on the "prosperous appearance" of our bantling. A few months afterwards our rival, the *Sunny South*, was sold out at trust sale, and we borrowed money enough to buy it, and this outfit gave us, with steady subsequent additions, one of the best offices in the State. This, with our splendid reference library of 2,000 volumes was entirely destroyed by fire on the last night of the last century, with petty insurance, and we were "out of it" for just four issues.

The Examiner was the only county paper until during a few months of the later days of reconstruction, when the Radicals ran a political sheet, mainly supported by county and city official work.

The *Aberdeen Weekly* was established in 1880 by Capt. E. P. Thompson, and has since had a number of owners, and is now published by Prof. T. T. Deavenport.

Several other papers have had brief careers here since the war.

It is interesting to note in this connection the fact that Major Jonas is the author of those beautiful and immortal lines written on the back of a Confederate note, "or promise to pay." It is a mistake to say these promises are unredeemed. They were due a certain time "after the conclusion of a treaty of peace," and from the nature of things no such treaty ever has been or ever will be concluded.

Aberdeen had a large and able bar. I do not understand how they all made a support, but the field was much larger then than now, and the lawyers were not entirely dependent on their practice for support. There were such men as Thomas Coopwood, Judge Wallace, Federal Judge and Congressman S. J. Gholson, Circuit Judge J. M. Acker, ex-Judge F. M. Rogers, Jno. B. Sale, James Phelan, W. F. Dowd, Congressman Reuben Davis, L. E. Houston, R. O. Reynolds, Lafayette Haughton, G. J. Buchanan, Mason Cummings, J. L. Herbert, Holmes Whitfield, John Davis and N. J. Beckett.

Mr. Watlington, father-in-law of my brother Newton, while editing a paper, had a debt due him by a country gentleman, who upon being dunned a time or two for it, in a fit of annoyance exclaimed that if he lived until the next Saturday he would pay it. He did not pay, and the next issue of the paper had an obituary and a glowing eulogy of the gentleman. In a towering rage, he wrote telling Mr. Watlington he was not even sick and asking what the publication meant. In the next issue after that the

editor explained by reciting the circumstances, and saying that, as the man was a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, he thought he surely must be dead, and was sadly disappointed to find out that he was mistaken. He thereupon retracted everything and begged the gentleman's pardon.

We had a military company, a brass band, under the leadership of Frank Sanders, and about 1858 procured a hand-power fire engine. The brickyard men were Gibson and Thos. Brandon; contractors and carpenters, Ransom and Golightly; brickmason, Pucket; furniture and cabinet-making, Turbeville, father of J. W. Turbeville; dress-maker for the Female College, Mrs. Turbeville; hardware and tin, James Oldshue; jewelry, Wm. and Ike Johnson and C. T. Gifford; milliners, Miss Simpson, Mrs. Pulliam, Mrs. McAlister and Mrs. Levy, mother of Colonel R. M. Levy.

Among the prominent early families of the various small towns were those of B. M. Terrell, Quincy,[3] Dansby and Stegall, Smithville; F. M. Nabors, Cotton Gin;[4] Lann and McKinney, Athens; Nix and Cooper, Grubb Springs; Ross, Ross Mill; Hutchinson, Gay and Willis, Old Hamilton,[5] the original county seat; and at that time bachelors, Adam Carlisle, station agent at Egypt, and Henry Carlisle, station agent at Prairie Station.

It is not generally known that S. S. Prentiss made one of his great speeches in this county. His date conflicted with that of a circus and it was agreed that he should speak in the tent. He spoke from the top of a cage, and it is said that during his superb flights of oratory even the lions and tigers and dumb brutes became quiet and lay down, and that in the tense magnetism and grandeur of the scene you could have heard a pin drop.

As I have said, the gin factory and foundry were converted into a cannon and gun factory after the war broke out. All the sporting rifles, for many miles around, were brought there, and

[3] For a sketch of Quincy, see Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 360.—Editor.

[4] For a sketch of Cotton Gin, see Ibid, pp. 358-359.—Editor.

[5] For a sketch of Hamilton, see Ibid, pp. 357-358.—Editor.

the older ones restocked. Hammers and percussion cap tubes were put on old "flint and steel" guns and all the rifles bored out to a uniform size to carry Minie balls. They were distributed, first to the State troops, and the overplus to the regular army, and were used at Vicksburg and in the Mississippi campaigns. A few cannon, six pounders, had been cast, when a number of cannon and a large quantity of the small arms were destroyed by the burning of the factory by incendiaries about March 1, 1862. It was never rebuilt, and on April 14, 1862, I enlisted in Company I, Forty-first Mississippi Regiment, which was under the command of my brother.

Aberdeen sacrificed a large quota of her most prominent and chivalrous men to the cause of the Confederacy. The first company that went out from that place was the Van Dorn Reserves of the Eleventh Mississippi Regiment. Of that regiment in the battles in Virginia, L. J. Morgan had his jaw shattered; John B. Sims, Lucien Moore and Colonel R. O. Reynolds, each lost an arm; the brothers, William and Beckett Gladney, were both badly wounded. I have heard that out of about thirty-three men of that company, who went into the battle of Gettysburg, all save three were either killed or wounded. Captain Tom Holliday, Charley Strong and Jno. C. McNairy were killed in other battles.

I was on a visit to General Strong's home one night when a fine dog owned by Charley Strong, came into the front yard and howled piteously. He was driven away, but returned again. They told me he had kept it up for an hour or two. Somehow it threw such a damper over our spirits that I soon left. A day or two afterwards we got the news that at the very time this dog commenced his howling Charley Strong was killed in the battle of Manassas. When the discovery of wireless telegraphy was announced, it recalled this circumstance forcibly to my mind, and I wondered if that death and howling were merely a coincidence, or if, indeed, the dying moans of poor Charley Strong had really been wafted by air on sound waves across the great intervening space. You may say this is non-

sense, and probably it is, but things have happened and will continue to happen that were not dreamed of in our philosophy!

In our western army, Captain F. M. Rogers was killed at the siege of Fort Donalson, Captain Thomas Coopwood and Cunningham Cooper were killed at Perryville; Jim Mosby, of Company I, Forty-first Mississippi Regiment, my old company from the city of Aberdeen, was desperately wounded in the dreadful battle of Chickamauga. Many others of the same company were wounded in that bloody conflict, while seven were killed outright. Lieutenant Gus Snowden was killed at Missionary Ridge; Newnan Williams was killed at Kennesaw Mountain; Jim Isom was killed in the trenches at Atlanta; Colonel Wm. R. Moore was killed in the battle of Corinth; Colonel Rover was killed at Franklin; Captain Joe Ward was killed in the Georgia campaign; General Samuel J. Gholson lost his right arm in a cavalry fight near Egypt Station on the M. and O. Railroad, in Monroe County; Wm. McMillan lost an arm from gangrene, superinduced by exposure; Captain Lum Sykes was killed in the field by a falling tree; James Love, Henry Bradford, Luceillus (Culley) Burnett, Captain N. J. Beckett and many others succumbed to disease, and J. W. Howard, Walter Snowden and many others were wounded. They were all members of the Eleventh, Fourteenth, Twenty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Forty-first or Forty-third Mississippi Regiments.

RECONSTRUCTION IN MONROE COUNTY.

By E. F. Puckett.[1]

Introduction.

Monroe County was established February 9, 1821, and was named in honor of President James Monroe, who was then President of the United States. This was the first county formed from the Chickasaw cession. It originally embraced Lowndes County, which was formed out of it nine years later. Monroe County now has the following boundaries: Lee and Itawamba Counties, on the north; Lamar County, Alabama, on the east; Lowndes

[1] This contribution was prepared in the Historical Seminary of the University of Mississippi in 1908-'09.

Ernest Franklin Puckett is a son of James Azariah Puckett and Zula Evaline (Beeks) Puckett. He was born July 28, 1889, twelve miles east of Aberdeen, near a rural postoffice then known as Beeks. He was graduated from the University of Mississippi with the B. S. degree, in June, 1909. He became instructor of mathematics in the University Training School, at Oxford, Mississippi, in the following September. His father was a successful merchant at Gattman for a period of twenty years.

His maternal and paternal ancestors came to Mississippi from Laurens District, South Carolina, settling in Monroe and Pontotoc Counties. His maternal grandfather, David Andrews Beeks, when a mere boy, entered the Confederate Army, enlisting in Company I, Fourteenth Mississippi Regiment, July, 1861. After the expiration of his first term of service he reënlisted, joining Armistead's Regiment, Sixteenth Confederate Cavalry. He was Justice of the Peace, 1872-1874; Supervisor, 1887-1889, and member of the State Legislature, 1905, 1907-——. The Beeks family came from Scotland to Virginia shortly after the Revolutionary War. Four of the five brothers of this family removed to different parts of the country, only one of them remaining in Virginia. His descendant removed to South Carolina, from which State he came to Mississippi. David Wright, one of the maternal ancestors of Mr. Puckett, fought in the Revolutionary War in South Carolina. Another maternal ancestor, Bernal Wade, settled in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, early in the nineteenth century. His wife, Martha Stocker, belonged to a prosperous family of ship-builders, who removed from Scotland to South Carolina.

One of Mr. Puckett's paternal ancestors, John Taylor, was also a Revolutionary soldier, enlisting in the Patriot army when only fourteen years of age. Before his removal to Mississippi, he lived near Tumbling Shoals, South Carolina.

The Pucketts are of Irish, the Beeks and Stockers of Scotch, and the Wades and Andrews of English descent.—Editor.

and Clay Counties, on the south, and Clay and Chickasaw Counties, on the west.

Hamilton, now an extinct town, was the first county seat. It was located in the southern part of the county, near the fork of the Tombigbee and Buttahatchie Rivers. Although the site of Old Hamilton is now a cultivated field, this place was once a trading town of about three hundred inhabitants. A new town, which bears the same name, has been built about three miles north of the old site.[2] In 1849 the county seat was moved northward to Athens,[3] and eight years later to Aberdeen, where it has remained ever since.

The population of Monroe County in 1900 was 31,211, of which 12,555 are whites and 18,656 are colored. During the period of reconstruction the relative proportion of the races was about the same as it is now. The colored population during the decade from 1860 to 1870 was on an increase, while the white population was at a standstill. This was due, most likely, to the fact that a great many white men went to war and were killed, while the slaves were left behind to take care of the farms and the families of their masters.

The original inhabitants (white) were composed of settlers, mostly from the South Atlantic States and those immediately east of the Mississippi River. The influx of this population came in two distinct immigrations: The first of these was about the year 1820, when the Federal Government opened to occupation the lands of the Huntsville Survey. These lands extended eastward from the Hunstville meridian and the Tombigbee River, and as far north as an old Indian trail known as Gaines Trace, and thence northeast along this trail. Soon after the completion of this survey and the opening of the land to settlement, there came a tremendous influx of settlers from the hill country of Alabama and Georgia, and from Middle Tennessee. Among the settlers of this period were the Prewitts and Tubbs, who

[2] A sketch of the old town will be found in Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 357-358.

[3] A sketch of this extinct town will also be found in Ibid, 359-360.

later became prominent citizens of the county.[4] The second immigration occurred in 1836, soon after the treaty with the Chickasaw Indians, which opened all their lands to settlement, especially the lands west of the Tombigbee River.

The two main lines of early settlements were along the Old Trace Road, which marks the Gaines Trace Survey, and along the Wolfe Road, which passes along the eastern border of the county. In the War of 1812, General Jackson, on his way to New Orleans, passed along the eastern border of the county with one division of his army under the command of Wolfe, the other division going by Vernon, Alabama. The road which Wolfe's division cut is still known as "the Wolfe Road." The other division made a highway which is called "the Military Road." On Jackson's return northward, he followed the Gaines Trace Survey Line, thus opening another road. Settlers coming from Tennessee, Alabama and the Carolinas by the Tuscumbia Road, pushed southward along these new thoroughfares, settling on the Tombigbee and Buttahatchie Rivers.[5]

The Tombigbee River, which runs through the county from north to south, divides it into two nearly equal parts. On the east the soil is for the most part sandy, the river and creek bottoms giving way to the hill country in the extreme eastern portion of the county. The western half of the county is a prairie region. The soil of this latter region is of calcarious formation, black and very fertile. A majority of the negroes of the country still live in this region, as they did during the reconstruction period.[6]

[4] Among the early settlers of the county were Mr. Cocke, Col. D. W. Wright, the Cravens, Sandersons, Alexanders, Fords, Branches, Jacob Loughridge, Dr. Higginson, B. T. Reese, William Morse, John Ross. Henry Hardy, the Echols, John Coulter, the Hutchinsons, the Ferrisses, the Martins, the Elkins, Blairs, Danners, Morrows, Bakers, Easters, Wises, Mayfields, Malones, Irvins, Parchmans, Woods, Depriests, Crenshaws. Most of these families settled in the State long before Monroe County was formed.

[5] These facts were obtained from W. F. Riley, of Tupelo, Mississippi, a former citizen of Monroe County.

[6] The soil west of the river belongs to what is known as the Eutaw formation, and that east of the river belongs to the Tuscaloosa sands

Monroe County has an area of 764 square miles. It is one of the wealthiest and most populous counties in North Mississippi. During reconstruction times, the county had only one railroad, the Mobile and Ohio, which passed through its western part. A branch of the same system now runs from Muldon to Aberdeen, the county seat. In 1883-1884 a branch of the Illinois Central Railroad opened up the southwestern part of the county, and a few years later (1887) the Frisco Railroad was built through its northern and eastern portions. Aberdeen once had a good river trade. Steamboats went as high up the Tombigbee as Cotton Gin Port, and it was not an unusual sight to see from four to six boats at the landing at Aberdeen in the cotton shipping season.

Monroe County has produced a number of prominent men. Among these were the Sykes brothers, T. B., E. O., and Dr. Gus; General Gholson, who represented his district in Congress from 1837 to 1838; General Reuben Davis, once a member of the Hight Court of Errors and Appeal and later a member of Congress; J. M. Acker, a lawyer of distinction; L. E. Houston, a lawyer, judge and State Senator, and R. O. Reynolds, also an important man in the history of the county.

The condition of the county at the close of the war was pitiable. Houses had been destroyed, fences burned and the live stock either killed or carried off. Although the people were in straightened circumstances, they began at once the difficult task of retrieving their lost fortunes. But their struggle with poverty and desolation was rendered doubly hard by the political experiences through which they were forced to pass. They had to rescue the county from the carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes, the last of whom constituted the majority of the population.[1]

Many of the public records of this period were destroyed, some of them by the Republican officers to prevent the exposure of their fraudulent measures, others by the Democrats to keep their enemies from learning the names of the negro voters. A

formation. In the latter soils are found some iron ores, carbonates and limonites, as is shown by the great number of mineral springs in that portion of the county. (Goodspeed's *Memoirs,* II, 190.)

[1] See testimony of R. E. Houston, D. A. Beeks and S. J. Gholson, in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi,* II, 852.

few other records were probably misplaced in more recent years when they were removed from the old to the present vaults. The files of the two newspapers published during the reconstruction period have been recently destroyed by fire.

County Government.

It will be remembered that at the beginning of 1865 the Southern States were still under the Confederate Government. In January of that year the following men qualified as members of the Board of Police of Monroe County: B. B. Barker (president), Floyd Winter, H. M. McCoy, J. T. Swansey, T. W. Baker and C. W. Walton (clerk). All these men were of wealthy and respectable families. On entering office they took the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States of America and of the State of Mississippi. But their term of office did not last long under the Confederacy; for within a few months that government was overthrown and the election declared null and void by W. L. Sharkey, then Provisional Governor of the State. Two changes were made in the board by the new election, M. M. Lewis and W. M. Page taking the places of McCoy and Swansey. The board remained Democratic, but in taking their oath of office its members renounced their allegiance to the Confederacy and promised to support the Constitution of the United States. The minutes of this body contain the following entry made after the fall of the Confederacy:

> Be it remembered that at the meeting of the members-elect of the Board of Police of the said county, said election having been pursuant to the proclamation of W. L. Sharkey, provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi, to fill the unexpired term of two years, from 1865 to 1867, the former election of the present term of county and city officers under the constitution of the so-called Confederate States having been by a recent action of the convention of the State of Mississippi declared unconstitutional, that said members * * * met at the courthouse of said county, in the city of Aberdeen, on Monday, October 9, 1867, and after having taken the oath, which is hereunto recorded, they are declared members of the said Board of Police for the unexpired term.

About this time there appeared the symbol "F. M. C." written after the names of colored men. It seems that under the "Black

Code" no one except a "free male citizen" could get license to keep a gun, and the party desiring such license had to be able to sign "F. M. C." after his name.

At the beginning of the year 1867, we find one new member on the board, R. M. Stockton. This man was later a very prominent figure in the affairs of the county. Mr. S. A. Jonas says:

"He was a stalwart Jeffersonian Democrat and a blunt, thorough-going citizen."

Another prominent citizen of Monroe County says:

"He was a thorn in the side of the Republicans, had a reserve of curse-words which he was continually using against them, and was as bold as a lion."

This same board was reëlected for the term beginning January, 1869.

After 1869, affairs, national, state and local, began to assume a new aspect. Several important acts had been passed by the National Government which directly affected the State. On April 6, 1866, the first Civil Right Act was passed over President Johnson's veto. This act was intended to protect all persons, white or black, in the United States in their civil rights. In 1867 three Reconstruction Acts were passed, one of which provided for the calling of a constitutional convention in each of the States. The Elective Franchise Act was also passed, which gave negroes the right to vote. Governor Ames, then Military Governor of Mississippi, called a convention, which met in January, 1868, to frame a new constitution. In the election of delegates to this convention, the negroes voted for the first time, but when the constitution was submitted to the people it was rejected. President Grant then resubmitted the constitution and it was accepted without the disfranchising clause.

The first Board of Supervisors of Monroe County under this new constitution met on July 12, 1869. It was appointed by Governor Ames, the previously elected board having been dropped after the adoption of the constitution. This new board was not entirely Democratic, and it did not have a single member who had belonged to the preceding board. The President,

J. E. Meek, was a Republican sympathizer, though the other members, so far as I can ascertain, were Democrats. With the next election, affairs began to take on a more gloomy aspect. The financial interests of the county were neglected, and worst of all, its affairs were controlled by unprincipled negroes.[8]

The board which took its place in January, 1870, was composed of three white men and two negroes, one of the latter finally becoming its president. The white members were thoroughly Democratic, and the first president, W. W. Troup, was nominated in 1875 by his party as a candidate for the State Legislature. He was a wealthy and highly respected citizen. In the fall of 1871 Elisha Howell was removed for some unknown cause, and was succeeded by Adam Bradford, colored; Spencer Watkins, colored, resigned and was succeeded by F. H. Little, white, a Republican, of whom we shall seee more in another part of this paper.

As long as the Democrats were in control of the board, the financial interests of the county were safe, but when that body passed into the hands of carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes, extravagant contracts were numerous.

To a casual reader who knows nothing of the actual conditions of the county, the recorded actions of the board in reference to public improvement would seem wise and beneficial. But careful investigation will show that a great many contracts were let for the building of bridges and roads that were not for the public good. They were merely schemes for the benefit of grafters.

The board of 1872 still had a Democratic majority. On it were two interesting and important characters, T. R. Caldwell and W. C. Thomas, who represented the white districts east of the river. They were highly respected citizens, the former having been elected in 1907 to represent his county in the lower house of the State Legislature.

The presence of these men, who had the real interests of the county at heart, served to check the extravagant measures hither-

---

[8] See article by Hon. George J. Leftwich, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IX, 53-84.

to passed by the board. Their common method of opposition was by protest. Sometimes their protests were effective, but more often they were ignored. The first protest was against returning a fine which had been imposed for selling firearms to a freedman in violation of the "Black Code."

About this time a contract was let for the building of an iron bridge across the Tombigbee River, one mile east of Aberdeen. One J. H. Anderson, a scalawag, was superintendent of this work, and at almost every meeting of the board he was allowed large sums of money, which gave strong indication of corruption.

A change then took place in the personnel of the board, which brought into that body three negroes. Price Hogan, Chess Young and Wm. Walton. Soon after their election, the negroes met in special session, elected Price Hogan president, and fined Messrs. Caldwell and Thomas five dollars each for non-attendance. The compliment was duly returned, as Messrs. Caldwell and Thomas soon afterwards in special session fined the negroes for the same offense. Hogan's name is signed to the minutes of the board in "hen-scratch" style, by means of a cross mark or in the handwriting of some one else.

After the organization of the new board, one of the white men made a motion to discharge J. H. Anderson from the position of superintendent of the work on the iron bridge because of his extravagant expenditures. The vote stood three against and two for the motion.

The Board of Supervisors had the power to appoint grand jurors, each member appointing the men from his own district. Of course, the negroes favored men of their own color in making these appointments. But when the time came for such appointments, the white men were chagrined to find that the negroes had already made the appointments for all the districts. The white men on the board again entered a violent but ineffectual protest. Two more notable protests followed before the white men resigned. A contract was let to Wm. Hodges, colored, to build a bridge across a small creek for the sum of $4,600. Protest this time was effectual, because it showed the absurdity and the extravagance of such a contract. The contract was finally

let for the sum of $400. The last protest was against giving Price Hogan $50 for signing the bonds issued to the Memphis and Selma Railroad. But this was in vain, and soon thereafter the white men tendered their resignation, which was accepted and recorded in the minutes of the board as follows:

> This day Messrs. Caldwell and Thomas, members of the court from the first and second districts, present their resignation to the board, which is in these words and follows thus, to-wit:
>
> *To the Honorable Board of Supervisors of Monroe County, State of Mississippi:*
>
> The undersigned members of this board, from the first and second supervisors districts of said county beg leave to tender this their resignation as members of this board, and state that they will not positively serve as members of the board.
>
> They further beg leave to offer the following reasons operating on their minds and consciences to induce this action—
>
> (1) Because the action of this board is so fraught with ignorance and corruption as to render all the members personally liable for its actions and bring upon its members the just approbrium of all honest and upright citizens;
>
> (2) Because the undersigned are not willing to bear such approbrium, not being in any wise responsible for the same, and the action of the board being controlled for inconsiderable partisans;
>
> (3) Because of the indifference of the citizens of the county in not supporting the protests of the undersigned as members of said board by taking legal steps to prevent the great frauds of the majority of said board on the finances of the county.
>
> (Signed)
> T. R. Caldwell,
> W. C. Thomas.

Upon the resignation of these two members, three illiterate negroes were left in complete control of affairs. The resignation occurred the early part of the year 1873, and no successors were chosen to fill the vacancies until the election that fall. It may be easily conjectured what relief the negroes felt when they knew they were not being watched, and with what freedom they exercised their power.

The office of Sheriff changed also at this time. Sheriff Anderson dying, his place was filled by J. S. Watkins, colored, who had once been Coroner of the county, and who had once before held a place on the Board of Supervisors. The new board of 1874 had in its membership two new men of prominence, R. N. Stockton and Lafayette Willis. Stockton's powers of vituperation

were often taxed to their limit by the fierce and scathing denunciations of the acts of the majority of the board. We are told that,

"His protests spread on the minutes of the board were mild and civil, but his anathemas uttered at the meeting of the board are said to have been sulphuric in the extreme."

Willis was a very wealthy planter, and was inclined to persuasive methods of controlling the negroes. He was rather a contrast to Stockton in this respect, as the latter often found occasion to use his big hickory walking cane on his antagonists. It might not be improper to give an idea of the ignorance of these "colored gentlemen of the board," as is shown so forcibly in one of their hypocritical protests which we find recorded in the minutes as follows:

We, Louis Stith and Chess Young, do hereby enter this protest against all orders for the posting of lands for the following reasons:
(1) Because many innocent and ignorant men will be made to suffer unnecessarily and unlawfully by the land oysters;
(2) Because there is no law in our opinion authorizing the board to post land unless it is for the protection of oysters.

Stockton and Willis found themselves fighting the extravagance of the board as did their predecessors. In 1875 the following protest was entered by them against the allowance of the timber account of one Dr. Hatch:

(1) Because the timber was reported to have been used on a road which could be dispensed with as a public road;
(2) Because the value of the timber was not clearly proven, inasmuch as the two witnesses refused to answer direct questions pertaining thereunto;
(3) Because in our opinion this bill is enormously high, and is also an unjust burden upon the whole people of the State.

Another act of extravagance, and one seemingly out of the jurisdiction of a Board of Supervisors, was to give three Alcorn scholarships, amounting to $100.00 each, to J. P. Simmons, M. B. Thompson and J. B. Dowd. These appropriations were for the benefit of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College for negroes at Rodney, Mississippi.

The rates of taxation were much higher than they ought to have been. In 1866 and 1867 the county levy was 100 per cent. of the State tax, besides a tax of 5 per cent. on the sales of merchandise and a cotton tax amounting to $3,728.84; in 1868, it was 125 per cent. of the State tax; in 1871, it was 27 mills; in 1872, 25 1/2 mills; in 1873, 34 3/4 mills; in 1874, 38 8/10 mills, and in 1875, it was 19 88/100 mills.

The board always drew a liberal salary, considering the time they spent in the meetings, and of course the longer the meetings the more the pay. Some of the meetings lasted from six to fourteen days. Each member received four dollars a day, and twenty cents a mile "going and coming." Sixty-two dollars and forty cents was extravagant pay for fourteen days work for a man. Yet this amount was allowed one member of the board, who lived sixteeen miles from Aberdeen.

The Bigbee bridge contract was the most fraudulent of all the contracts made in Monroe County for public improvements. The actual cost of building this bridge was never known, because the warrants for the money paid out were not all recorded. Various estimates have been made ranging from $80,000 to $100,000. The expenditures as voted and recorded in the minutes of the Board of Police amounted to about $60,000. The contract price was $46,200. It is estimated that the bridge could be built to-day for $40,000. As we have seen, J. H. Anderson, a scalawag, was superintendent of this work, which was done by Standa and Moselle, contractors. Anderson got a liberal portion of the graft. Associated with him was W. Walton and J. M. Rice, an engineer, and W. E. Bell, who also got a large part of the spoils. From the time of the appointment of a bridge committee to get bids for the contract, August, 1870, until the bridge was completed in 1873, numerous changes were made in the management and a new contract was even let in January, 1873, for $3,500 to get the bridge capped. The moneys expended prior to May, 1873, even though over the contract price, were not sufficient to complete the bridge, and it was found at that time the county still owed $11,657.29. Although the board agreed to pay J. H. Anderson $500 per month salary, we find that in February, 1873, it

allowed him $3,500 extra for his services. Caldwell and Thomas made several protests against this corruption, especially against a motion which reads as follows: "Allow to Walton such amounts as he needs for freight——,"—his word sufficing for a voucher. This is one way the graft came in; another was in the salary paid to Anderson. He was allowed $6 a day on the minutes in one place, but in another he was given $500 a month. When the contract time was up the bridge was unfinished and yet the pay continued as if no contract had been made. The two white men on the board made a motion to hold the builders to the terms of the contract, and to make the contractors provide a free ferry to let people across the river, but the motion was defeated. From another protest we learn that J. H. Anderson got 3 per cent. of all moneys paid to him. It appears to me that he was the principal grafter in the disgraceful deal. Beall got $250 a month for three months and $500 a month for six months; Rice $125 a month until discharged for inefficiency.

Party Leaders.

In Monroe County, as elsewhere throughout the South, during reconstruction days there were two parties, the Democratic and the Republican. The former was composed chiefly of the native white men, though there were a few negroes who voted the Democratic ticket. I have not been able, however, to learn definitely about them. The Republican party was composed of three distinct elements. The first were white men who came south after the war, merely as office-seekers, they were known as "carpetbagger." The second element consisted of native Southerners who openly sided with the Republicans or were in sympathy with them. They were Republicans for various reasons, but mostly to get office, to "have a finger in the pie." They were called "scalawags." The third class were the black men. As the negroes were in a majority in Monroe County, the fight of the Democrats was not only against superiors numbers, but against an ignorant and prejudiced majority, directed by white Republican leaders. We shall see that, when these leaders faltered and

their courage failed in the face of inevitable defeat, the negro enthusiasm vanished and cowardice asserted itself.

There were within the ranks of each party a younger and an older class of leaders, the former being more impetuous and the latter more conservative. The young men were conspicuous in action and the old men in council. Among the leaders of the younger set of Democrats were R. C. Beckett, J. W. Howard, F. C. Barry, E. O. Sykes, S. A. Jonas, John D. McCluskey, W. D. Walton, A. E. Dalrymple, R. F. Houston, N. W. Hatch, James Dillingham and Plummer Willis. Among the older Democrats were Judge L. E. Houston, Colonel R. O. Reynolds, A. J. Sykes, J. M. Trice, W. W. Troup, B. R. Howard, W. G. Evans, W. H. Clopton, Sr., and Colonel Lafayette Willis.

Chief among the Republican leaders was A. P. Huggins. He was born in Ohio and reared in Niles, Michigan. He served four years in the Union Army, holding positions from private to captain, finally being brevetted lieutenant-colonel. He came to Monroe County in October, 1865. Soon thereafter he was appointed an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau and left the county to make his home temporarily in Jackson, Mississippi. After eighteen months he returned to Monroe County as assistant assessor of internal revenue, having been appointed in May, 1869. He assessed taxes in five counties—Monroe, Itawamba, Prentiss, Alcorn and Tishomingo. In August, 1870, he was made Superintendent of Public Education. He was also President of the School Board, which in turn instructed him to look after schools, school funds, and teachers. Huggins made himself very obnoxious to the tax-payers on account of his extravagant administration of school affairs. He was also a planter; in fact, he came to Mississippi as a planter, having rented fifteen hundred acres of land about ten miles from Aberdeen. The State allowed a tax of ten mills for a school building fund, and five mills for a teachers' fund, but only ten and a half mills were collected as recommended by Huggins and his board to the Board of Super-

visors. This tax was what got him into trouble, as we shall see later.[9]

He stated in his examination before the Boutwell Committee that during 1865 and 1866 he was little molested, but that his first difficulty was a church affair. Soon after coming to the county he applied for admission to the local Baptist Church. The minister, Mr. Chambliss, told him the church would be glad to receive him, and that he thought there would be no difficulty over the matter. The following Sunday he went to the church in Aberdeen. The minister then told him before the congregation that they had reconsidered the matter; that Huggins had done them a wrong; that being in the Federal Army he had done a wrong to the South, and that he must repent of it and show that he had done so. Huggins immediately left the church. Later he presented his letter, but was not admitted. He says that still later he was invited to join, but refused. After he had married a Baptist lady, the invitation was renewed, but he again refused to accept. He continued to go to his wife's church, however, and to contribute to its support. During the campaign when Ames ran for Governor, Huggins was made Sheriff for six weeks, thereby holding three offices at one time.

Sometime after this, while making an official tour of the county, he was invited to spend the night with a Mr. Ross, a good, respectable Democrat. A friendly negro had warned him the day before that the Ku Klux were hunting for him and advised him to leave the vicinity. About 10 o'clock that night he was awakened by cries outside to Mr. Ross for "the man who was in the house." On looking out of the window, Huggins saw the premises covered with men dressed in white. They demanded that he come out, but he refused to do so. They told him that they had certain orders and warnings for him, but that they could not deliver them in the presence of women and children. They ordered Mr. Ross to bring Huggins out, but he refused. They then built a fire and threatened to burn the house, when Mr. Ross asked Huggins to leave the place. Huggins went to the gate and asked for his

[9] Several authorities furnished the above information. See particularly the testimony of A. P. Huggins, in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi.*

warnings and release. The captain then delivered the warnings in a pompous manner, stating that it had been given in a certain place and registered in some corner of hell, but that he had forgotten the name of the registrar's office. The substance of the decree was that he should leave the country within ten days and release them of all oppressive taxes. The captain further informed Huggins of the Ku Klux regulations, as follows: The rule of the camp was, (1) to give a warning; (2) to enforce obedience to their laws by whipping; (3) to kill by the Klan together; (4) if that was not done, they had sworn to kill him "either privately, by assassination, or otherwise." Huggins told them that he would "leave Monroe County at his own pleasure, and not until he got ready." This reply infuriated the men and several of them jumped over the fence, captured and disarmed him. He was then carried off about a quarter of a mile and asked if he had changed his mind. He said "no." Mr. Ross followed and they both reasoned with the men, but to no avail. Mr. Ross was forced to leave, but not until they promised not to hurt Huggins. He was then given a few licks with a stirrup strap, but he still refused. Then, after a big, burly fellow had used the buckle end of the strap twenty-five times, Huggins was willing to yield to their demands. As soon as he was physically able he left the county.

Although he had agreed to leave the county, he had not agreed to stay away. He came back and arrested the defendants in the Alec Page murder case. He was in Oxford during the celebrated Ku Klux trial at a later date. He did not remain long in Monroe County, however, after the election of 1875. Although he finally came more to the Democratic way of looking at things, and even promised to help the Democrats in the election of 1875, his efforts in their behalf were not, of course, very effective and his support was rather weak.

G. Wiley Wells, another carpetbagger, gave the following estimate of Huggins character:

"He is a man of excellent habits, of good character, a man whom I have always understood to be above reproach."

Wells also said that popular sentiment did much to bring

reproach upon Huggins on account of his affiliation with the Republicans. If this be true, Huggins had some admirable traits, but we cannot disassociate the man from his deeds.[10] The general opinion of the county places him in the category of the "Republican devils." One man, D. A. Beeks, stated very succinctly that Huggins "was as mean as the devil." After the election of 1875, Huggins and his wife went West, and little was heard of them from that time.

There were two brothers who also played conspicuous parts in the drama of reconstruction in Monroe County. They were Finis H. and R. B. Little. They were born and reared in Kentucky and came to Mississippi in 1865. In 1869 the former was elected to represent Monroe and Chichasaw Counties in the State Senate. In 1875 he ran again for the same office, but was defeated. He was a farmer and merchant.

His brother, R. B. Little, held the office of Chancery Clerk for several years, but was finally defeated in the election of 1875. Both of these men were looked upon with contempt by the good citizens of the County.[11] It seems, however, that they belonged to a respectable family in Kentucky, and both of them married into good families in Monroe County. Mr. W. F. Riley says that Finis H. Little died of tuberculosis in Aberdeen, and his brother, Rat Little, returned to the North.

The next carpetbagger of importance was J. F. Lacey. He was "a non-descript," according to Major Jonas' characterization. He came to Monroe County from Pennsylvania soon after the war. We are told that "he was a man of generous instincts, and was by no means a coward." He was a little past middle age, about fifty years old, and a bold, courageous kind of a fellow. As Mayor of Aberdeen, having been appointed by Governor Ames in 1869, he presided with dignity, liked to have his way, and wanted men to show him great honor as he sat behind the bar and meted out justice to the people.

[10] Boutwell, *Report on Mississippi*, II, 1141. Major S. A. Jonas says that the whipping of Huggins gave rise to the expression the "Bloody Shirt."

[11] These statements are made on the authority of D. A. Beeks.

It seems that one Tom Ragsdale had abused and insulted his honor, and Lacey was told that he ought to fight a duel with him. No doubt J. D. McClusky was behind it all, for he had great influence with Lacey, even though they belonged to different parties. Lacey challenged Ragsdale to a "fist and skull" fight. A ring was drawn on the west bank of the Tombigbee River near Aberdeen, and in this they were to fight, while the by-standers, composed of almost the whole male population of Aberdeen, looked on. As arranged Captain R. E. Houston was Ragsdale's second and J. D. McClusky was Lacey's second. The contestants were about equally matched, but it is stated that Lacey came near getting the better of his antagonist, and would have done so, but for the fact that in the fight Ragsdale got hold of Lacey's long, flowing beard and would not let go until Lacey was out of breath. The whole affair was regarded as a great joke, and it brought Lacey into ridicule.

McClusky made Lacey think that he was his only friend, and as a consequence McClusky was made mayor, *pro tem*, by Lacey on one occasion when the latter had to be absent from town.

McClusky presided with dignity and made remarkable decisions. A complaint was made by a negro, who said he had been kicked by a white man for not making a fire at the proper time in the morning. McClusky heard the trial, then turned to the deputy and asked where he had hung that negro the day before. The officer understood the joke, and began to give a lengthy description of the gallows, but before he could finish the negro's attorney left the room.

Lacey and McClusky were sitting together one night in the hotel, when Lacey became alarmed at a disturbance created by a club across the street, known as "The Robinsons." McClusky seized the opportunity to work upon Lacey's fears. He told the mayor that the meeting was a Ku Klux gathering and that they had decided to kill Lacey that night. Lacey became excited and wanted to leave immediately. McClusky offered to help him escape, and he sent for a buggy. They immediately departed, after having dismissed the driver. It was a rainy, stormy night, but they hurried toward Egypt, a railroad station on the Mobile

and Ohio Railroad. They got about half way when the buggy broke down, but they continued the journey, hastily, by mounting the horses, bareback. When they arrived at Egypt, McClusky advised Lacey to get into a box car, and not wait for a passenger train. The advice was followed and McClusky locked the car door and returned for Lacey's trunk. Some time after that McClusky was in Oxford, Mississippi, and Governor Alcorn happened to be there also. He sent for McClusky to come to the hotel and explain his treatment of Lacey. McClusky said he understood that in commercial transactions if a merchant received goods he had not ordered he could return them. He then added:

"Now, Governor, you Republicans shipped us Lacey for mayor, and as he did not suit us, we concluded that we would just ship him back to you." [12]

It is said that the Governor, upon hearing this rolled over on the bed almost bursting with laughter.

Woodmansee was another carpetbagger of note in Monroe County. Judge Beckett calls him "the prince of smooth carpetbaggers." Mr. Leftwich says:

"He was a typical carpetbagger from Indiana, whose idol was Oliver P. Morton, of that State. He came like drift-wood from the ocean, and became at once identified with the local Republican politicians. He appears to have been more or less illiterate. He returned North and married, but lost his wife later. He encountered sundry afflictions and buffetings and in a few years disappeared from view."

Woodmansee got drunk very often, and on one of his sprees he fell and hurt his head. Some negroes were induced to carry him into the office of Mr. McClusky, who offered to dress the wound, which was bleeding profusely. McClusky, who was never known to be excited, claimed afterwards that the sight of blood always excited him and that in dressing the wound he began to shave Woodmansee's head on the wrong side. Consequently in a short time he had shaved and put a plaster on the side of the drunken man's head opposite the wound. Woodmansee was then carried home. He had long, curly hair of which

[12] R. E. Houston.

he was proud. Of course, his anger knew no bounds when, upon rising the next morning, he saw that one side of his head had been shaved. He grabbed his gun and started for McClusky, but accidentally met Messrs. Barry and Beckett, who dissuaded him from such a rash act, but had him to employ E. O. Sykes to prosecute McClusky in a trial which never came off. McClusky explained, however, that in the operation he became excited as usual at the sight of blood, that while looking for a razor Woodmansee turned over, and that when he began to shave he found no wound, but knew one was there for he had seen it. He therefore kept shaving and finally put the plaster where he had last seen the wound. The negroes became disgusted with Woodmansee as he went about with his head tied up.[13]

Late one night a loud knocking was heard in the back-yard of the Webb Hotel where McClusky boarded. May Webb investigated, and found that Woodmansee, while drunk, had been nailed up in a wagon bed by McClusky and that upon becoming sober he was trying to break out of his improvised prison by kicking furiously.[14]

The next carpetbagger of importance was C. T. Holle. He was a large, square-shouldered, boisterous braggart, weighing about two hundred pounds. He came from Pennsylvania, and was appointed Sheriff to succeed a man by the name of Oldshoe. Holle's overbearing attitude got him into serious trouble with the lawyers of the city, and as a consequence, he was forced to leave. Mr. Beckett had obtained judgment for a client and turned it over to Holle to collect. On meeting the client soon afterwards Holle told him the money had been collected and given to Beckett. The client then went to Beckett, told him of what Holle had said and asked for the money. Beckett at once saw that "a lie was mixed up in the case" and went to have a settlement with Holle, whom he met on the street. While Holle was trying to explain the affair, Beckett, little man as he was, gave him a good beating with a heavy walking-cane, which he

[13] R. C. Beckett, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 183-184.

[14] Capt. Lann and Hon. George J. Leftwich.

had borrowed from Captain E. O. Sykes a few moments before the encounter. Beckett's friends advised him to beware of Holle, who they thought would attack him. But Beckett was fearless, and went in person to Holle's boarding-place, entered his room and closed the door. He then told Holle that he had come to have a talk with him, and that he didn't doubt but that he was armed and that he himself was. Holle was sitting by a smoldering fire when Beckett entered. They were soon engaged in a hot discussion which ended by Holle saying that he had had no peace since he had been in the South and that he would resign his place and leave as soon as possible. Beckett then called the hotel-keeper, Mr. Goodlad, to witness this statement. Holle left soon afterwards never to return.[15]

Another interesting character during this period was Captain J. W. Lee, a Southern man who turned Republican. He was born in Cherokee County, Alabama, November 30, 1838, and was educated in Texas. It was in Texas that he served as a captain in the Confederate Army. He came to Monroe County soon after the war, and began to take an active leadership in the Republican party. He was a man of force of character and had courage to stand up to his convictions. He was the mainstay of the Republican party during its period of success, and he succeeded in keeping it alive until defeat became inevitable, and then his interest lagged and his efforts ceased. He fell with the great host of Republicans on November 2, 1875. He was Mayor of Aberdeen from 1871 to 1873, and Sheriff from 1873 to 1875; was postmaster from 1880 to 1886 and was reappointed in 1890. He is now a wholesale merchant in Birmingham, Alabama, and is regarded as a very respectable citizen. His wife was one of the lady managers of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[16]

Another scalawag was Colonel J. L. Herbert. It is said that he turned Republican as the result of a personal difficulty in which he received a gunshot wound before the war. He was

[15] R. C. Beckett, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VIII, 182-183.

[16] D. A. Beeks, R. B. Houston, J. J. Leftwich; Goodspeed's *Memoirs*, I, 1112.

rewarded with an appointment to the position of Circuit Judge. Mr. F. G. Barry and Judge R. C. Beckett had some serious difficulties with Herbert on account of some court matters. It was claimed that Herbert was consorting with the negroes and using his home as an arsenal. The outcome of it all was that Mr. Barry went to Herbert's residence one night and called him out. He came with a double-barrel shotgun, expecting trouble. They had a duel across the fence. As one would shoot the other would dodge behind a post. Thus the harmless duel continued until both were out of ammunition. At that time a man by the name of J. S. Roberts ran up and handed Barry a gun loaded with buckshot and told him to shoot Herbert. But Barry's heart failed him on seeing Herbert standing before him totally unarmed. By this time soldiers had come up and arrested Beckett, Barry and McClusky. On the following day they were tried before a military court, but they put on a bold front. The way they gave in their names showed the defiant attitude they assumed toward the authorities. Barry responded to his name: "I am Frederick Napoleon Wellington Barry"; J. L. McClusky said, "I am Oliver Cromwell McClusky"; and Beckett echoed back, "I am Richard, the Lion-Hearted Beckett." They were turned loose. The negroes then took up the matter and surrounded Beckett and Barry one night in the latter's office. But the prisoners were prepared for the occasion, having been warned during the day. They intended to shoot the first man that entered the room, and, if necessary, they would enter an alley and escape by crossing the Tombigbee River, as Barry had already done once before when he had beaten a big, yellow negro for publicly denouncing him in a Republican meeting. But the negroes finally withdrew and this ended the incident. Herbert was addicted to protracted sprees, often lasting for months at a time, and it was on this account that he was turned out of office.[17]

George Pennington, another scalawag, was Circuit Clerk for a short time. He turned Republican in order to get office, and

[17] The above information is found in articles by R. C. Beckett, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 177-186, and by George J. Leftwich, in ibid, IX, 82.

in the light of that fact, he was pretty well thought of. He died while holding the office of Deputy Sheriff some years later. He was nominated for Circuit Clerk in the election of 1875, but declined to enter the race.[18]

There were two Andersons closely associated with the Republicans, so much so that they got a part of the spoil. J. H. Anderson was the superintendent of construction of Bigbee bridge and was allowed to draw at his will upon the treasury for funds.[19] It is claimed that he got a large amount of graft money in the awarding of contracts connected with the building of this bridge. The other was S. G. Anderson, who was once Sheriff of the county. He was well thought of. He died in office and was succeeded by J. S. Watkins (colored).[20]

D. A. Walton was once president of the Board of Supervisors, and by his association with two negroes, Price Hogan and Chess Young, controlled the board for a short time. He was not a vicious man, as were some other scalawags, but was a narrow-minded fellow, holding to his party for policy's sake. Walton finally moved to Alabama after the election of 1875.

The negroes were very powerful in the county and held many of its offices. Some of the leading men belonging to this race were the following:

Bill Holmes was once Treasurer and later a Representative of the county in the Legislature. Joe Spencer Watkins was Coroner and Ranger, and was one of the first negroes to serve on the Board of Police. He later became Sheriff upon the death of J. C. Anderson. Arthur Brooks represented the county in the Legislature. Chess Young, James Stith, George Strong and William Watkins were members of the Board of Supervisors. It was to the latter that the $4,000 contract was let to build a bridge which was finally built at a cost of $400. Howard Settle was Deputy Sheriff under J. W. Lee, but was allowed to exercise his functions only on negroes. Ed Williams was on the police force of Aberdeen. Other negroes held the office of Justice of

[18] D. A. Beeks.
[19] See *supra*.
[20] D. A. Beeks.

the Peace in the county. J. P. Hogan was a member of the Board of Police several times and was even president of that body. He, like all the rest of the negroes here named, had been an ignorant slave. He could scarcely scrawl his name, more often making a cross mark instead, or having some one to write it for him. He is now a preacher. He says that he made money in politics, but lost it by lending it to his political friends.[21]

Another negro of some importance was Hal Tucker, a former servant and body guard of Mr. John Tucker. Although freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, Hal remained with his master who allowed him many privileges. The Democratic principles of this negro were thoroughly instilled into his head by the Tucker family. His bearing was very dignified and aristocratic. In a great procession at Aberdeen he was one of the standard-bearers of the Quincy Division. He rode on horseback, dressed in rich regalia. His popularity with the Democrats caused him to suffer the disfavor of those of his own race, who adhered to the Republicans. In consequence of this, a Republican organization of negroes near Quincy threatened him with violence. They were prevented by his timely departure to Alabama to what is now Lamar County, where he lived many years, near Suuligent, Alabama.

Other negroes who deserve mention are Sharper Crump, Elias Crump, Turner Morgan and Jones Crenshaw.[22]

One white Democrat deserves special mention here, although he has already been alluded to several times in this narrative. This man is Mr. J. D. McClusky. He was from near Vernon, Alabama. He began life as a printer. After the Mexican War he got together all his possessions, a family carriage and a pair of ponies, and started for Mexico. On his way he stopped at Aberdeen to see his brother-in-law, and while there he changed his mind and sold his property and began the study of law. Being of Scotch-Irish extraction, he was a great wit and practical joker, and was never excited, except when he shaved Wood-

[21] These facts were obtained from D. A. Beeks, George J. Leftwich and Captain Lann.

[22] W. F. Riley.

mansee's head. He was a terror to foreign politicians, but had the ability to side with them just enough to obtain their favor. Then, without warning, he would spring one of his jokes, which generally tormented, even humiliated them, to his great delight. He was ingenuous in devising and bold in executing his tricks.[22] At White's store he and some others met some Republican speakers, but were refused a division of time. Before the exercises were over he jumped upon a wagon to speak, and pulled out a couple of pistols, which he waved in the air, saying, "And maybe these will speak also." One night in Aberdeen a saloon was full of negroes, carousing and drinking. He got some firecrackers, put them in a tin water pipe, one end of which was stopped with ice, and set them on fire. He then shoved his improvised cannon through a window pane and pointed it towards the negroes. The explosion created a great disturbance and caused the negroes to seek various means of escape, some running outside, others going under counters, others jumping through window sashes. He loaded his tin gun again and broke up a negro ball in the same way on the same night. He was fined for such actions, but his fines were never paid. These and other incidents reveal the character of McClusky and show how he delighted in tormenting the oppressors of his town and community.

Other Democratic leaders are worthy of note, but their characters and actions will appear in other parts of this narrative.

Secret Organizations.

Among the Democrats there was a political organization known as "The Robinsons." This was a secret body, the purpose of which was to influence people to the Democratic way of thinking and to have them pledge their vote to that party. There were, however, many white Democrats who never joined this organization. A similar organization was known as "The Johnsons." Their mode of recognition, both at camp and outside, was the following dialogue:

[22] *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 177-186.

1st man. "Have you seen Johnson?"
2d man. "What Johnson?"
1st man. "Johnson over the hill."

Military companies were organized by both sides, but they were kept in training for display rather than for actual service. The negroes were exceedingly aggressive and showed much enthusiasm in keeping up their military display. At Athens they were often engaged in sham battles. They would go through all the motions of charging on horse and on foot, in order, as they said, to show what they "would do for the white people."

There was also the Loyal League, an organization whose membership was scattered throughout the country. They had a definite constitution, a copy of which is said to be in the possession of Captain R. E. Houston.

It is known that Adam Gleed, colored, of Columbus, organized most of the Loyal Leagues in Monroe County. He finally incurred the hatred of the white Democrats and was forced to leave the county. There were lodges at Willis Chapel, El Bethel and Caledonia. Wash Holloway was president of the first. Other negroes prominent in Loyal League affairs were Grammes Dent and Robt. Od'neil.

On one occasion the Loyal League attempted to punish a white man by the name of Lorenzo Lee, who had whipped his servant, Arter Willis, for insolence. The members of the league gathered together all the arms they could, secretly as they thought, intending on the following day to march down to Lee's place of business. Meantime their plans had been found out, and when they appeared on the hill nearby they were confronted, not by their intended victim alone, but by a body of white men, all of whom were armed like themselves. Dr. Henry Alexander acted as mediator, and when the negroes were about two hundred yards away, he went to them and advised them not to attempt any violence, unless they wished to be killed. They decided to retire without molesting Lee.

The Loyal League once considered measures whereby they could "get even with Mr. W. D. Walton" for knocking his cook's eye out, but nothing ever came of it.

Tickets were often distributed to members of the Loyal League immediately before elections. As there were many negroes who could neither read nor write, their ballots were prepared for them in the meetings, whence they were carried directly to the polls. The majority always determined for which candidates their votes would be cast.[24]

The Ku Klux Klan is thought to have been first organized in Monroe County in 1867 or 1868 by General Forrest, who was then superintending the construction of the Memphis and Selma Railroad[25] a few miles north of Aberdeen.

The Grand Cyclops of the county was General S. J. Gholson. The purpose of the organization was primarily to quell the negroes and to keep them in their proper places. It served as a kind of police force which prevented the Radicals from having undisputed control over the negroes and from devising and executing extravagant measures. Every old citizen of the county I have consulted on the subject says that the Ku Klux organization was indispensable to the public welfare. At first the Klan was composed of men from the best families of the county, but a rough element finally got into it in its later years.

The organization had several local dens in Monroe County, but I find much disagreement as to the actual number. R. E. Houston says there were only three; others say that there were as many as twelve. The three dens referred to by Judge Houston were in the Hamilton neighborhood, in the Smithville District (in the northern part of the county) and in the vicinity of Athens.

Their disguises were practically the same as those worn by members of the Klan elsewhere in the South, they consisting prin-

[24] The above information was obtained from Mr. W. M. Butler, of Amory, Mississippi.

[25] Several unsuccessful attempts have been made in late years to complete this railroad. The grading was resumed in the early part of 1908 and continued for a few months, when it suddenly ceased. Part of the grading was done so many years ago that trees twelve inches in diameter have since grown up on the old embankments. This is especially noticeable on the east side of the Tombigbee River, about half a mile south of the iron bridge.

cipally of a loose flowing gown of white domestic,[26] not long enough, however, to impede progress. The headgear was of the same material with holes cut for eyes, nose and mouth. These holes were sometimes smeared around with red paint or dye. Long pointed caps were also worn with flaps that could fall before or behind. The headgear was moveable, and was so arranged that it could be turned around while riding, thereby enabling the wearer to see more clearly. They communicated with each other, on their nightly parades, by means of a code of signals. Whistles were often used for this purpose. While traveling at night they always tried to make as hideous noises as possible and to look as ghostly as possible in order to frighten the negroes. Some few members carried rubber bags and tubes concealed under their disguises, and on going up to a negro's house would call for water. Then would follow the often related water-drinking incident.[27] There were local variations of the dress, many using ornaments of feathers, rams' horns, animals' tails, etc.

In the northeast corner of the county, in the neighborhood of Bethel Church, a certain young man expressed a desire to join the K. K. K. He was accordingly invited to come to the church at a certain hour of the night. He came and found no one there. Later, a man stepped up to him and asked his business, which he told very promptly. He was invited inside the church, which was soon lighted by a candle. He entered, and in a few moments a man appeared disguised with a long, spiral ram's horn on his head. He asked the applicant a few questions as to his name, and age, then began scrutinizing him from all sides. Presently he lowered his horn and rushed toward the boy with a hoarse bellow, and struck him in the side. This action so frightened the young man that he left without further ceremony, and was content not to bother the K. K. K. any more.

These clans seldom worked in their own district. The actual facts are not known, but it is thought that the Hamilton and

[26] The buying of domestic became so common that almost every man who bought ten yards of domestic in Aberdeen was considered a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

[27] Partly from Huggins' testimony before Boutwell's committee. See *Report on Mississippi*, I, 275.

Smithville Klans worked in the Athens District, and the Athens Klan in both of the other districts. There are vague rumors that Alabama Klans crossed the line to help their friends in Monroe County. The organization was active until after the great trial in Oxford, after which strenuous measures were passed by the United States Government, which placed heavy penalties on those who were members of the Klan.

There were a few killings in the county, as testified to by citizens and by the witnesses before the Boutwell Committee.[28] Among those said to have been killed were the following: Thomas Hornberger, Ab Atkins, Jesse Mayfield, Jack Dupree, Joseph and Willis Flint, Alec Page and Abram Wamble, all colored. That Ab Atkins, Jesse Mayfield and Thomas Hornberger were killed by masked men, supposed to have been Ku Klux, is merely stated in this report.

Abram Wamble, a colored preacher, was shot at his home. He had taken some part in politics, but whether there were other reasons for his death is not positively known. General Gholson in his testimony said that Wamble was killed by negroes on account of personal grudges, and that the blame was laid on the Ku Klux. Wamble's wife testified that masked men did the shooting.

Jack Dupree, colored, was killed in February, 1871. He was president of a Republican club, and had been exerting some authority and influence over his colored brethren in a way not pleasing to the white Democrats. He was a negro with some wit and with capacity to control negroes. He was visited one night by masked men, who forcing their way into his house, captured him, led him about four miles to a creek, swollen by rains, killed him, cut open his body to make it sink and threw it into the creek. The body was never found. Huggins says he looked for it with some negroes.

Joseph and Willis Flint were two brothers working with their father on the farm of a man named Parke. Each man was to receive one-third of his own crop. When the time for settle-

[28] Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi*, I, 269, 270, 278, 279, 280, 296, 358-374, 361, 362; II, 786, 829, 834, 843, 844, 847, 860, 867, 879, 901-934.

ment came, each man claimed a third of the whole crop, and from that there arose a quarrel between the negroes on the one hand and the farmer and his two sons on the other. They came to blows with hoes and rakes and shovels, but the negroes were beaten and fled to a nearby swamp. They were assured, a few days afterwards, that they would not be harmed, and were thus decoyed and captured and put in jail at Athens. A few nights afterward a party of men demanded the key to the jail. The jailer would not give it up, but his wife, becoming frightened, surrendered it. The crowd took the negroes out of the jail and started off with them. The father, who was a large, strong negro, escaped them by suddenly leaping off his horse and taking to the woods. The bodies of the two sons were found a few days afterwards where they had been killed.

The most celebrated and widely known case was that of the murder of Alec Page, which took place about the latter part of February, 1871. As a slave he was a very good negro, but as a freedman, he became very boisterous and drank a great deal. He once got into a dispute with Tom Malone and pushed him out of a wagon on the road from Aberdeen to their homes. It was also charged that this negro spoke direspectfully in the presence of Malone's wife, for which Malone came very near killing him at the time. A few days after the latter occurrence he was visited by a large party of Ku Klux and a few negroes, who had been impressed into service. He had dodged them once, but this time he was surrounded and his home broken open. He was pulled from under his bed, tied by another negro with ropes cut from his own bed by his own wife, and led away. He was whipped until almost dead, and was then hanged. He was buried by a log near an old field. This occurred after the whipping of A. P. Huggins, the famous carpetbagger, who was then active in having these men arrested and brought before the Federal Court at Oxford, Mississippi.[29] The defendants were arrested by Huggins as special deputy under H. C. Blackman, United States Commissioner, on an indictment found by the grand

[29] For the source of this information, see Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi,* II, 936-997.

jury at the June term of the court at Oxford, under the sixth and seventh sections of the Enforcement Act. The trial was held before the Hon. R. A. Hill, United States District Judge, beginning June 28, 1871. The case was entitled *ex parte* Walton *et al.*, and the defendants[30] appeared in court on a petition for a writ of habeas corpus.

There was very able counsel on both sides. E. O. Sykes, J. D. McClusky, R. E. Houston, R. O. Reynolds, S. J. Gholson and W. F. Dowd, lawyers for the defendants, had volunteered their services in defending them. Counsel for the United States were G. W. Wells, United States Attorney for the Northern District; H. C. Blackman, E. P. Jacobson, Attorney for the Southern District; H. W. Walter, V. H. Manning and G. P. M. Turner. The trial lasted eight days, and there was a company of United States cavalry and infantry to keep order.

"The petitioners, above mentioned, denied the allegation in the bill of indictment, and declared that the witnesses who swore to the facts therein perjured themselves; furthermore, that the District Court of the United States had no jurisdiction over this case because the accused and the deceased were all citizens of Mississippi."

The question involved the constitutionality of the Enforcement Act. The court decided that the act was constitutional; that Congress had power, by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment, to protect colored citizens supporting the Union, hence the jurisdiction in said case. The judge released sixteen of the defendants on recognizance of $500 each, and eight on $5,000 each, provided they appear at next court. The case was very expensive to the citizen witnesses of Monroe County, about forty-five in number, some of whom took their families and bore expenses going and returning, besides the time they lost from their crops. There was great rejoicing and a popular demonstration when the party returned to Aberdeen. Cannon were fired and the defendants were showered with congratulations.

[30] The petitioners were: W. D. Walton, B. Quarles, J. C. Porter, J. P. Willis, J. L. Loughridge, A. J. Crosby, W. M. Butler, A. J. Pope, Henry McNiece, Thomas Malone, R. L. Mays, J. A. Roberts, John S. Roberts, Joseph Webb, J. Nuland, G. J. Ford, J. L. Hutchinson, Jeff Willis, Burrell Willis, Michael Forshee, B. Lumpkin, W. Pope, Clinton Ross and Steve Crosby.

There were a few men whipped in Monroe County, among whom were the following: A. P. Huggins, Joseph Atkins, colored; Santee Butler, colored; Simon Dunham, colored; Alf. Whitfield, colored, and Alf. Skinner. The Boutwell Report does not give the causes of these punishments, and I have not been able to ascertain the facts elsewhere.[31]

The negroes were so often frightened by the Ku Klux that anything odd, extraordinary, or uncanny was associated by them with that mysterious organization. Mr. Jim Pearce, a man with a glass eye, spent a night with Lucien Moore. The time was partly spent in telling Ku Klux stories in the presence of a few negro servants. In getting ready to retire, Mr. Pearce pulled out his false eye and handed it to a negro servant who was present. Before the bewildered negro could collect himself from awful wonder the visitor held out his arm and asked the servant to take it off, and at the same time extended his leg, saying, "Here take this off, too." The negro thought of the Ku Klux and left the man without delay.

One Dr. Minus showed a skeleton to some negroes, telling them it was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Not long thereafter it was told that the doctor had a clansman shut up in his office.[32]

Freedmen's Bureau.

Colonel Vassar, a United States officer, stationed at Aberdeen with a body of United States troops, was at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau. Captain R. E. Houston says that his actions and his attitude toward what was right showed that he was at heart a friend of the Southern white men. It was through him that all contracts had to pass, and he saw that they were good from the standpoint of both parties—the negro and the white man. The bureau undertook to regulate contracts between the white people and household servants. This, it seems to me, was the objectionable feature of its work, in that it forced white men to submit their family relations and household affairs to the surveillance of Federal officials.

[31] Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi,* I, 361, 362, 269, 270, 278, 587; II, 844, 845, 846, 879-906, 1138, 1141, 1151, etc.

[32] W. M. Butler.

The Freedmen's Bureau had a demoralizing effect on the negro; it diminished his economic value by throwing into his path irresistable temptations to idleness, by a vain, illusory promise of forty acres and a mule. Enticed by such promises many of the negroes flocked to the camps at Aberdeen, where they were fed by the troops, and kept in idleness, waiting for their assignment of land. The local newspapers of the time were very full of denunciations of the action of the bureau, and were very bitter in their criticisms of its management.[33]

I could not get access to any of these articles, however, as the files of *The Aberdeen Weekly* and of *The Examiner* have both been recently destroyed by fire. A few extracts from these papers will be found in Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi.*

The attempts to regulate even the most trivial contracts led to serious difficulties sometimes, in which the bureau agents were roughly handled. Few white men are known to have been reported to the bureau, or if they were the consequences were small.

Mr. T. J. Ford, of Old Hamilton, was reported to the bureau for whipping a negro servant. He was fined one dollar and the cost. Mr. Butler, of Amory, says in support of this statement that he once belabored a negro over the head for insolence. The negro threatened to report him, but when he sarcastically offered the use of his horse and saddle for this purpose, the negro was afraid to carry out his threat.

The reason why negroes did not report all offences was the threats of violence made by white men. On one occasion Ben McKinney, proprietor of a saloon and store at Athens, found it necessary to call upon his wife to help him during the rush of business. A big, boisterous negro about half drunk came into the store. He was cursing and swearing and boasting that he was going to "take things in" and that he was not afraid of any white man. McKinney went to the Mayor of Athens and asked what fine he could impose for knocking the negro down. The sum of one dollar having been agreed upon, McKinney went to his

[33] S. A. Jonas.

store and soon brought the negro to the floor by a blow on the head with a club. After a mock hearing before the Mayor, McKinney paid his fine of one dollar, which was doubtless returned, and the case was dismissed. The negro started for Aberdeen to report the case, but was sent for and told the consequences. He turned back and nothing more came of the case.

General S. J. Gholson says that the white men and negroes were satisfied after the war until the Freedmen's Bureau came in 1866. He says that he then began farming to protect from starvation the negroes whom he had raised.[34]

A certain citizen of Monroe County says that the soldiers in the Union Camps would rarely ever buy watermelons from him. As he raised a great many melons he finally resorted to the following method of disposing of them: He placed them in the hands of a faithful old negro, whom he used as a "go-between." This old man always sold them for twice as much as his employer could have got.

In general, where the bureau was managed by scalawags the offenders were handled roughly, but when it was under Vassar's rule, wholly, the white men always got a square deal.[35]

Election Frauds.

Numerous means were used to make the negroes vote the Democratic tickets or not vote at all. The Democrats destroyed the registration books in order to prevent the records of negro voters being carried to the different polling places. Once a blue-back spelling book was sent out in the boxes. As the boxes were not inspected closely until the hour for opening the polls, the managers were greatly discomforted, and the negroes were in some places kept from voting. Duplicate keys were often used to advantage in stuffing the box. This was once done at Athens. Dr. J. S. Riley, Mr. D. A. Beeks and a negro were the managers at that box in the election of 1875. The negroes voted steadily all day, confident that they would carry the box. At supper

[34] Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi,* II, 849.

[35] Statement of Mr. W. M. Butler.

time W. B. Quarles carried the negro home with him for supper, and left the box for a short time in the care of the man with the duplicate key. While the only "watch dog" of the box, the colored manager, was "stuffing" himself at Mr. Quarles' kitchen table, Dr. Riley was exchanging Republican for Democratic tickets, and thus stuffing the ballot-box.[36]

At another election in Athens before this time, W. B. Hogan was one of the managers and had the only key to the box. When the election was over Mr. W. B. Quarles said he would give Hogan plenty to eat and a place to stay that night. While there Quarles persuaded Hogan to let him see the key to the box. While examining it he took care to slip a crib key in its place, and Hogan did not notice the difference as the keys were almost alike. The right key was sent to the Democratic manager who stuffed the box "by common consent," as Mr. Butler likes to put it. After supper the votes were counted, and to the astonishment of the Republicans the box had gone Democratic. Another way to carry elections was to get the negro manager drunk and then go into the box, or even break the lock and replace it with a similar one.[37]

In one election the Democrats resorted to a novel method to defraud the negroes at the polls. The Democratic tickets were printed on stiff pasteboard. As soon as a negro appeared at the polls with a folded ticket he was asked what ticket he was voting. If he said the Democratic ticket, some one would say "no" and give him a "board ticket." Others were led to think that these were Republican tickets, and voting them only added to the success of the Democrats.[38]

When Judge J. E. Meek was registration officer in Monroe County he went from place to place on horseback, carring a big pair of saddle bags. The negroes were told everywhere that these bags contained one-dollar bills to be given to each one after he had registered. As a consequence, every negro, when he had registered, asked Judge Meek for a dollar bill, which the judge

[36] D. A. Beeks.
[37] R. E. Houston.
[38] W. M. Butler.

knew nothing of. This continued so long and worried him so much that he was forced to resign. The purpose of this was to get the negroes turned against Mr. Meek and to make them hate the Republicans.[39]

Before the election of 1875 the Democrats found out by some means the color and engravings to be used on the Republican ballots. They had similar ballots printed in New Orleans, the chief figure on the back of them being a picture of Captain J. W. Lee, surrounded and festooned with flags. On election day Captain Houston placed himself at the box with 300 such tickets and handed them to the negroes as they came to vote. By this clever trick the negroes were made to vote the Democratic ticket in spite of themselves.

The negroes were sometimes kept from voting by providing them with a good speaker, who would so entertain them as to make them forget the flight of time until it was too late to vote. Such a devise was resorted to at Loohatan, the first voting place south of Muldon on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. The negroes were then entertained by the following speakers: J. D. McClusky, Needham Hatch, Mr. Groomes, Captain Beck and R. C. Beckett. Beck was the principal speaker of the occasion. Judge Beckett says that he was a pastmaster of abuse and Phillipic and used it in portraying the most objectionable features of the Constitution. The result was that he entertained the negroes so well and so long that when they took note of the hour it was far too late for all of them to vote.[40]

Educational Conditions.

In Monroe County a tax of ten mills was allowed for school buildings and five mills for a teachers' fund. The School Board, of which Huggins was president, agreed on ten and a half mills, but the Board of Supervisors rejected it. The amount of the tax at first was $61,800. This, however, was reduced to $30,000. In addition to this there was Monroe County's share of the Chick-

[39] W. F. Riley.

[40] *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 185-186.

asaw School Fund, amounting to about $6,000. Although the assessments were kept from being collected by the K. K. K., Huggins hired teachers and built houses and furnished them extravagantly. He made a contract to buy a house for $6,000 from Gholson, but when the latter found out that it was to be used for a negro school he tried in vain to persuade Huggins to cancel the contract.[41] Huggins also bought an old Baptist Church building in Aberdeen and furnished it extravagantly for the negro lads. He let contracts for about twenty houses at an average cost of $300 each. He refused in one instance a newly built church house, to be used free of charge, for a school during week days.[42]

Huggins and six other men composed the School Board. The board was mixed for a short time, having white Republicans and scalawags and negroes on it. The taxes for school purposes were reduced to $21,000 when white men got complete control. Two members of the School Board, Dr. Ecbert and Mr. McCoy, appear to have been Southern Republicans. The former taught a school and paid his own salary. The Ku Klux sent him a notice that as he was teaching a Union school he would have to resign from the board and leave. The notice was placed on his door, written in Ku Klux style with flourishes and mystic symbols and signed "K. K. K."[43] He resigned according to the testimony of R. B. Stone in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi*. There were twenty-six schools broken up in Monroe County, and a small number of the buildings were burned.

Mrs. Sarah A. Allen was forced to quit her school, near Cotton Gin Port. She was from Genesee, Illinois, and came to Mississippi to teach a colored school under the auspices of a missionary society. She was staying with a negro family, having been refused admission to a white home. It is said that she was highly educated and accomplished. One night she was visited by disguised men and was told that she had to stop her school by a

[41] Gen. Gholson, in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi*, 842, 843, 850, 853, etc. Huggins testified to this extravagant expenditure, etc.

[42] Huggin's testimony in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi*, I, 285.

[43] Huggins, in Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi*, 1, 281.

certain date. They gave four reasons why she had to do this: (1) They did not want Radicals in the South; (2) they did not want Northern people teaching there; (3) they thought negroes could educate themselves if they wanted to; (4) they objected to heavy school taxes. Other Northern teachers were notified that they must leave. Huggins says only three schoolhouses were burned. That is a conservative estimate.[44] Miss Isabell Phemster, a Southern lady, also taught a negro school in Monroe County.

Economic Conditions.

Economic conditions after the war were extremely poor and discouraging. For the farmer, returning from the conflict, little of his former possessions were left. His hogs, sheep, horses and cows had been carried away, his fields laid waste, and his fences burned. It was, therefore, hard for him to start his farming operations again. Usually when one man is in hard circumstances, his neighbors can help him, but it was not so then; every man and his neighbors were in the same trying circumstances. Their subsistence had to come from the soil, but what were they to live on until crops could be harvested?[45] Credit was bad and everything expensive. Meat was worth 25 cents a pound, corn easily brought $2 a bushel in gold, and cotton sold for from $75 to $125 a bale. The slaves had made a bare subsistence for the families of their masters, but in no case had they been able to save anything.[46]

Formerly the blockade had shut off all communications from the outside world. Articles produced elsewhere could now be obtained in abundance, but there was little money with which to buy them. The slaves, who had once served their masters well, were now free and many of them had left the old home to work for themselves, or to follow the illusory promise of "forty acres

[44] See Boutwell's *Report on Mississippi,* II, for the facts here given. The testimony of Miss Allen will be found on page 777 of this volume.

[45] D. A. Beeks and testimony of Gen. S. J. Gholson before Boutwell's committee, in *Report on Mississippi,* II, 252.

[46] D. A. Beeks, H. Smith and others.

and a mule," held out to them by the carpetbaggers.[47] Emancipation caused great loss to some of the slave-holders. Mr. W. A. Sykes, the richest slave-holder in the county, had owned two hundred and nine slaves under sixty years of age, on whom he payed a tax of $6.75 a head.

Even the men who had plow animals usually had nothing with which to feed them. One incident is told of a man who was forced to plow half a day, and let his horse graze the rest of the time.

Major S. A. Jonas said in May of one of these trying years that if he could get along until blackberries were ripe, he could make out until fruit and roasting ears came in; when these gave out, he had a good opossum dog, and could "pull through" the remainder of the year. Even the most common articles of to-day, such as salt and pasteboard, were then very scarce. Flour biscuits were a luxury rarely enjoyed oftener than once a week.

The meddling of the Freedmen's Bureau with all contracts between black house-servants and white men and the laziness and inefficiency of the freedmen, caused certain prominent citizens of the county, among whom was Captain R. E. Houston, to send to Chicago for foreign laborers.

Mr. Houston says about 7,000 Swedes and Norwegians were

[47] One instance is known in which an innocent negro in Monroe county was robbed of $150. The smooth carpetbagger showed him the prospects of "forty acres and a mule," and told the negro if he would get him $150 he would survey and stake off the forty acres and guarantee the title to the same. The negro got the money, the carpetbagger skipped, leaving the negro with a scrap of paper as a sure testimony to the scandalous transaction. Not long afterwards the owner of the land noticed the negro, viewing his "forty acres" and looking at the stakes. The following conversation then took place:

"What are all these stakes for, Elisha?"

"De is to mark off my fawty acres of land."

"What are you going to do with forty acres?"

"I'se gwine to take charge of dem nex year."

"Who said you could have this land, Elisha?"

"One of the 'Publican gentleman come 'round here and stake it off for me."

"Where are your papers to show that you have a right to this land?"

The negro pulled out a crumpled piece of paper which read something like this: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so have I lifted this man out of $150 in prospect of getting forty acres and a mule."

brought to the county to be used as servants. The plan did not work well, however, for the foreigners soon became dissatisfied and most of them left. But much effort was put forth to make life interesting and attractive for them. Barbecues and "cooking races" were instituted for their special amusement. But the plan failed because they were scattered, and had no churches and no society. The few who remained prospered. A family now living near Aberdeen named Seaverson is a representative of this old foreign importation.[48]

There were two kinds of labor contracts, the "half system" and the "third and fourth system," or rent system. When the negroes worked on the "half system," they were furnished with cabins, implements, seed, work stock, and feed for same, and at the end of the year they received one-half of the crop. By the other system the tenant furnished everything, except cabins and land, with improvements thereon, for which he paid at the end of the year one-third of the cotton and one-fourth of the remainder of the crop.

The average price of land in Monroe County was then $15 an acre. It is now about $30 an acre.

Municipal Government.

Aberdeen was the only municipality in Monroe County during this period. When the Board of Aldermen first met after the war J. R. Kidd was mayor of the town. There were a great many infractions of the law. From December, 1865, to January 30, 1866, the fines aggregated $693. In March, 1866, we find a motion to appoint a committee of three to confer with a Committee of the Board of Police and with the Freedmen's Bureau on the subject of regulating pesthouses. We also find a record of 348 street hands taxed at $6 each and 427 polls at $1 each. There was a tax of $1 on every horse and mule sold in the city, and a street tax of $6 and a general tax of one-half of one per cent. on total property valuation. The penalty for nonpayment of street tax was ten days work, or a fine and imprison-

[48] R. E. Houston is authority for these statements.

ment for not less than thirty days "with bread and water to eat."

We find the same extravagance in expenditures here as in the administration of county affairs. Popular sentiment was against high salaries for the Mayor and other officers. Captain R. E. Houston, a well-known lawyer of Aberdeen, was City Attorney during the year 1867. J. F. Lacey was appointed Mayor in 1869. We have already seen a great deal about him. Soon after he went into office the general tax rate went from 1 per cent. in 1867 to 3¼ per cent., in addition to a special tax of 3 per cent. on clocks and taxes on salaries, rents, inheritance and professions. A poll tax of $6 was imposed at first on all male inhabitants, from twenty-six to fifty years of age, and after 1866, the same tax was collected on all male inhabitants from twenty to fifty years of age. In the year 1867 several appeals were made from the City Court to a higher tribunal.

On account of the indebtedness of the municipality, two efforts were made to lower the salaries of the city officials. The first effort was directed against the salaries of the Mayor and Marshal, the former of which the reformers wished to reduce from $750 to $250, and the latter from $400 to $300. In spite of this effort the salaries seem to have been advanced, as we find later that a petition signed by one hundred and nineteen citizens of the town requested a reduction of salaries as follows: Mayor, from $1,200 to $750; each of the six selectmen, from $100 to nothing; Marshal, from $750 to $156.38. As a result, the salaries of the Mayor and Marshal were reduced, and the selectmen were allowed $10 each. Petitions were also presented, asking for a reduction of the police force, the abolition of overseers, the discharging of street hands, and the consolidation of the offices of Assessor and Collector. There was, however, only a temporary reduction of salaries.

The Mayor's docket shows that when Kidd occupied that office the fines imposed amounted to $2,858, of which only $1,450.35 were collected. This indicates that either the fines were not paid or the Mayor pocketed part of the money. The former conjecture is more likely correct, since many of the fines were im-

posed against prominent leaders of the time and could not be collected. Many cases were docketed in 1869, 1870 and 1871. In December, 1870, there were thirty-five cases; in November, 1870, twenty-eight cases, and in January, 1871, twenty-four cases.[49] From May, 1871, to August, 1871, there were sixty fines or cases; from August, 1871, to October 23, 1871, sixty-four; from October, 1871, to December 9, 1871, forty-three; from December, 1871 to January 4, 1872, sixty-three.[50]

The number of cases was abnormally large, considering the size of the town, but the reader is prepared to expect this after reading the account of the turbulent times as given in the preceding narrative. Among some of the men brought up for minor offenses were the following:

J. M. Acker, three cases, for cursing and resisting an officer; R. C. Beckett, for disturbing the peace; W. H. Clopton, for fighting; F. C. Barry and W. D. Hooper, for disturbing the peace.

There are also numerous entries against W. B. Wodmansee for "drunk and down." We have already noted Woodmansee's career. All these disturbances of the peace were mostly provoked by personal difficulties with carpetbaggers, Federal officers or privates. W. H. Clopton and J. D. McClusky are said to have whipped a soldier in a "fist and skull fight.' The fact that soldiers were often fined shows that they did not observe the peace.[51]

Lacey's whole administration had an element of "dignified force," or "forced dignity" in it. One T. Moore, after submitting in all meekness to a fine for some trivial offense, paid it, and then asked Lacey if he could pay another fine in advance, as he wanted to do a little meanness. Lacey eagerly accepted the fine and Moore left. He returned very soon afterwards with a handful of brick bats and drove Lacey from his office.

Elections in 1875.

The Republicans practically carried every county election, both local and general, during the period of reconstruction. This

[49] Geo. J. Leftwich, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IX, 64.
[50] Records in the Mayor's office.
[51] Geo. J. Leftwich.

they did by means of negro votes. Yet the Democrats were not inactive during all this period. They fought with great heroism against the high-handed political methods and the numerous fraudulent scheme of the Republican leaders. But conditions finally became so intolerable that the situation began to assume a revolutionary aspect throughout the State, and the Democrats resolved to carry the election of 1875 at all hazards. Early in that year they began to make their plans. In order to carry the election in Monroe County, a committee of twenty, five from each district, was appointed to manage the campaign.[52] There was also a central committee composed of five men, Dr. John Moore, W. D. B. Harper, W. H. Redwood, E. O. Sykes and S. A. Jonas.[53] The representatives were taxed $1,000 each in order to raise a campaign fund, and other citizens gave by private subscription. E. O. Sykes gave $500. This central committee was to work secretly and to select the vulnerable points at which to attack the enemy.[54] In this move to rescue the State from Republican rule Monroe County was a leader.[55]

Preliminary and preparatory to the campaign, the Democrats selected their speakers and organized and trained their military companies of sixty or seventy men each. A glee club of negroes was organized by Messrs. E. H. Bristow and B. C. Sims, both excellent singers.[56]

[52] Geo. J. Leftwich.

[53] S. A. Jonas.

[54] E. O. Sykes and Geo. J. Leftwich.

[55] Dr. Garner in his *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 379, footnote, tells us that immediately after the Clinton riot the citizens of Aberdeen telegraphed to the Clinton people, offering to send them a hundred well-equipped men, if further assistance was desired.

[56] A short selection from one of the campaign songs about Lee will bring before the readers more vividly the ardor of the people at this time. It was sung to the tune of "Carve Dat 'Possum."

Cap'n Lee the nigger did fool,
Carve dat 'possum,
With forty acres and a mule,
Carve dat 'possum.

Chorus.

Carve dat 'possum,
Carve dat 'possum,

A few outside speakers, Colonel Beck, of Georgia; Captain Bankhead, of Alabama, and Captain Brock, of West Point, were brought into the county to help in this campaign.[57] The course of procedure was suggested by the Republicans, who had published a list of the "Grand Rounds." The Democrats hit upon the idea of going with them, but kept the matter secret until the time for action. Their plan was to keep the negroes away from the polls either by persuasion or by intimidation.

The negroes were told that unless they voted the Democratic ticket they would not be hired for another year. Dr. Riley, then a young physician, told them in a public meeting that he would not give them any more medicine unless they voted with the Democrats. An old fellow nearby said in a loud voice, "Doctor, don't give them any medicine at all unless it is a big dose of strychnine." Another method of exciting fear in the minds of negroes was by means of torchlight processions. These processions were very common in Monroe County. The people would also congregate at an appointed place and build big bonfires of whatever material was at hand. In Aberdeen they used lard barrels and boxes for this purpose. Around these fires they would make speeches and shout and yell. Sometimes the speeches were addressed to the negroes, while the white men were marching about and doing everything to create fear in the minds of the audience.[58]

The people from the east side of the river sometimes marched into Aberdeen. One big procession may be noted in this connec-

---

Children carve dat 'possum,
Carve him to the heart.

Went to de henhouse on my knees,
Carve dat 'possum,
Thought I heard a chicken sneeze,
Carve dat 'possum.
Chorus.

[57] D. A. Beeks, R. E. Houston, and E. O. Sykes, R. C. Beckett, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 177-186.

[58] Told by Mr. D. A. Beeks. Mr. Ben Hollins, a hot-headed, uncompromising leader, contributed his share toward frightening the negroes. It was nothing uncommon for him to stand on the platform cotton scales with two big pistols, one in each hand, and curse and denounce the negroes and Republicans "from early morning to dewy eve." Told by Mr. W. F. Riley.

tion. It formed at the public bridge, and the file was long enough to reach to the station of the Illinois Central Railroad. It turned to the right at the place where F. D. Carter's store now stands, marched several blocks, turned west, went as far as "Silk Stocking" street, turned south, went down that street, and finally met again at Carter's store. All this was a public demonstration to the negro, to show the strength of the white man in numbers.[59]

The Quincy Division of this parade was about five hundred strong, and composed of three divisions known from their leaders as the "Wood's Gang," the "Terrell Division," and the "Riley Division."[60]

All this enthusiasm was not expressed by the men alone, but by the women and children as well. Young boys very often took part in the parades, carrying banners and entering into the spirit of the occasion almost as much as did their elders. Women and children, left at home in these days, had to face the danger of a negro uprising. Often families would be awaken in the night by some false sound, borne upon the breeze, thinking it to be a somber drum signal for every negro to rise and strike for the "top rail." Many were the silent passages to neighbor's homes, where white people sought safety in knowing that they were more in numbers. More than once did many people think, that before the rising of the morrow's sun, their blood would be shed and their property consigned to the flames.

On September 4, 1875, an article appeared in the *Aberdeen Examiner,* which was the mouthpiece of the campaign and of all political controversies. This article was meant to give emphasis to a statement made by Colonel Reynolds in a speech at Buena Vista a short time before. The statement is as follows:

"Whoever eats the white man's bread must vote with the white man or refrain from voting at all." For this statement he was applauded immensely. The Aberdeen *Examiner* says that this utterance was the keynote of the campaign. The following night, September 5th, Judge Houston spoke at the county courthouse, declaring that the whites were justified in demanding the coöperation of the colored voter in their efforts to free themselves from a rule that was oppressive and odious

[59] Captain Lann is authority for the above paragraph.

[60] W. F. Riley, of Tupelo, is authority for this statement.

to every man who had an interest in the welfare of the State, and that if the negro would not assist them in redeeming the State from this terrible incubus, he took the position of a covert, if not an avowed enemy, and was entitled to no consideration at their hands.[61]

The battle cries of the campaign were "White Man's Rule" and "Enormous Taxes." The white people were tired of being ruled by negro votes and of submitting to an exorbitant rate of taxes. The Democrats had a full ticket of both county and State officers, the nominations for each party being as follows:

Democrats.		Republicans.
R. O. Reynolds	Senator	W. M. Hodges.
W. W. Troup A. J. Sykes J. M. Trice	Legislators	Buck Hodges.
J. W. Howard	Sheriff	J. W. Lee.
H. S. Gilleylen	Chancery Clerk	R. B. Little
Andrew Wood	Circuit Clerk	George Pennington
R. A. Honey	Treasurer	J. H. Anderson
J. C. Burdine	Assessor	Geo. Coleman.[62]

The time for the "Grand Rounds" soon came. The first place on the program was Cotton Gin Port, now an extinct town, but then consisting of a few stores and a schoolhouse. The Republicans and negroes assembled there early in the day, before the Democrats had appeared on the scene. In order not to excite suspicion, the Democrats split up into two bands, and each took different routes on leaving Aberdeen. But they arrived in sight of the schoolhouse simultaneously. E. O. Sykes and A. H. Whitfield, former Chief Justice of Mississippi, crossed the river to the east side and drove to Cotton Gin, the artillery corp remained on the opposite side of the river from the village, taking up a concealed position opposite the schoolhouse and a short distance therefrom. Before the speaking began, Captain E. O. Sykes wrote a note to J. W. Lee demanding a division of time with the Republican speakers. To this note the Republican leaders replied that they wanted no joint debate, and that they feared the results. The Democrats ignored the reply, since they had reached a state of desperation and "were up for a fight, scrap or any-

[61] Garner's *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 393.

[62] D. A. Beeks, R. E. Houston and E. O. Sykes are authority for the above statistics.

thing; for conditions had become unbearable." The party went to the schoolhouse, with the exception of the artillery which was left on the river bank, and succeeded in getting an allotment of time. Captain J. W. Lee, Republican candidate for Sheriff, opened the debate, and when he had finished, Captain E. O. Sykes took the floor. If the Democrats could succeed in driving or frightening the negroes away from the speaking, so that they would not fall under the influence of the Republicans, their purpose was practically accomplished, for, excluding the negroes, the Democrats could easily carry the election. Mr. Sykes had spoken but a short time when the cannon began to boom rather unexpectedly to the negroes, who were so taken by surprise and fear that they fled, leaving the Democrats in possession.[63]

The next place of meeting was at Smithville. Here the Democrats were again on hand at the appointed time. They wore red shirts or red and gray shirts. Elkin and Hatch had command of the artillery and soldiers. The house was crowded with negroes, and the Democrats were as successful as at Cotton Gin Port.

The third day there was speaking at Quincy, a small town in the eastern part of the county in what was then a sparsely settled country, but solidly Democratic. This place being only eight miles from the Alabama line, there were a great number of Alabamians there, in addition to the people from the northeast part of the country. That day George Coleman got into trouble. He claimed that he had been insulted and wanted to fight. The exact cause is not known, but nothing came of the affair, although a riot was probably averted.[64]

At a speaking at Greenwood Springs men came armed with various kinds of weapons, mostly cap-and-ball pistols and shotguns. The speaking was held near where Dr. Broyle's hotel now stands. The speakers spoke from a wagon, Huggins speaking first. There were present about one thousand armed negroes from the Prairie District. During his speech, which pleased the negroes, Huggins made a remark something like this:

[63] Capt. E. O. Sykes is authority for this statement.
[64] Geo. J. Leftwich and E. O. Sykes are authority for these facts.

"Before I would vote the Democratic ticket and deprive the negro of his rights, I would rather my eyes would go out, my ears refuse to hear, my tongue be cut out, my face turn black as a crow, my finger nails rot off, and not one vestage of hair remain on my head."

Of course, such a remark brought forth loud applause from the negroes. Mr. Oliver Eckford answered the speech. He was "scared to death" as several express it, and "his voice had a weak, trembling tone," though he was guarded by Dr. J. S. Riley, members of the Woods and Crenshaw families and others, who sat near him with cocked pistols.[*]

The next place of meeting was at Willis' Schoolhouse, Sulphur Springs, about twelve or fourteen miles from Aberdeen, on the Aberdeen and Columbus Road. There was also a big crowd at that place. The negroes came out in military array, and were even large enough in numbers to excite some fears of conflict. A division of time had been agreed to beforehand, the Republican speaker getting the first place. One of the negroes had a kettle drum with which he made an annoying racket. During the speaking the negro military officers sat on the front seat and when a Republican speaker made a strong point they led the cheering by beating the drum. When the Republicans finished speaking, Wash Holloway gave the signal to break up and the negroes proceeded to leave before hearing Colonel Beck, of Georgia. The move was counteracted by Plummer Willis and other men with war records, who closed the doors and windows and struck the negroes on their heads with pistols in order to subdue them and make them resume their seats. Judge E. O. Sykes grabbed Wash Holloway by the collar and said, "D—n you, you shall hear him." They remonstrated with the drummer but to no avail, until he had been struck over the head with a pistol and his drum seized and cut up. The Democrats, however, made up a subscription and paid the negroes for their drums before leaving. The negro drummer, Scott Hughes, succeeded in escaping from the house and was hotly pursued by Messrs. Jeff Cantrell and Sam Reeves. Just as he was clambering over the fence of a nearby cotton field his dilapidated drum was caught and held by his pursuers, but he

[*] W. F. Riley.

slipped out of their grasp like an eel, leaving them in possession of his coat as well as his drum.

Geo. Coleman, Buck Hodges, Rat Little and Captain Jas. W. Lee had come out together from Aberdeen in a hack. When the time came to leave Lee was afraid to get in the hack, because he was looking for an outbreak every moment, and he knew he would probably be killed at once. He went, therefore, through the woods and caught the hack some distance from the schoolhouse. Just as the other three were leaving, Mr. Elkin fired his cannon, and while the reverberating echoes of the old cannon were dying away Mr. Bill Gay shouted "Farewell, Brother Coleman." [66]

Thus far most of the speaking had been east of the Tombigbee River or near it. The negroes called the affair at Sulphur Springs a "riot." The next scene of action was advertised for Muldon, at Paines Chapel, a small place in the Prairie region and in the heart of the negro country. "Eastside" Democrats were prepared to go there to aid in doing as they had done elsewhere, but they learned the morning before that the meeting had been called off, and returning visitors confirmed this report. As the Republicans were unwilling to repeat their experiences at Sulphur Springs, no other joint debates were held, but each side tried other means to influence the negro.[67]

A white man by the name of Jim Crowe was killed by a negro while on his way home. It is thought he was killed for political reasons. The negro assassin was caught and it was announced that he was to be hanged at Athens. On the day of the hanging the people went to Athens in large numbers to see the execution. A party of Yankee soldiers went out from Aberdeen with the secret intention of preventing the hanging. Big, strong men went out with them also, men of the type of Mr. John Wicks, Billy Clopton and ——— Gregg. When they all had got there they engaged in a free-for-all fight. Mr. Gregg, a mechanic of

[66] The facts here related were obtained from Mr. W. M. Butler and Mayor J. P. Johnson, of Amory.

[67] I am indebted to Mr. E. O. Sykes for a narration of this campaign and election, also to Mr. Geo. J. Leftwich and others for additional information.

heavy, powerful frame, was able to deal some stunning blows to every Yankee that passed him as he stood on a street corner. The result was that the Yankees were routed and put to flight. They got away the best they could, some ran off on foot, taking to the woods, and others were carried away on horseback by negroes. They carried with them many a bloody wound and many a bruise. The negro was hanged to a nearby pine tree.

As time passed, the tension became greater and greater. The Republicans began to entertain some vague apprehensions of defeat, because of the furious, earnest determination of Democrats to win at all costs. The following letters serve to confirm these facts:[68]

HON. A. AMES,
Jackson, Mississippi.

Hon. Sir:

Things are getting in an awful condition here. Yesterday the Democrats attended a Republican meeting and cut the heads out of the drums and beat colored men over the heads with pistols, and but for a few they would have precipitated a riot. To-day they have been beating colored men over the heads and shooting at them on our streets. The Democrats are thoroughly organized and armed, and they are exceedingly aggressive and do not hesitate to say that they intend to carry the election by force, and they are prepared to do it. What can we do? The Executive Committee is at the head of it or some of them.

They have a six-pound cannon and ammunition and "needle-guns" and ammunition.

Yours and Co.

This letter has reference to the speaking at Sulphur Springs. The facts stated are true so far as I have been able to find out.

His Excellency, ABERDEEN, Oct. 7, 1875.
ADELBERT AMES,
Jackson, Mississippi.

We, the undersigned, take this method of informing your Excellency that according to our knowledge and belief, a riot is eminent, and nothing save the presence of U. S. troops can prevent it. Men armed with Gatlin guns are walking around our streets and threats are being made against the lives of prominent Republicans in this city and county.

H. M. SETTLER (Rep.),
WILLIAM HOLMES (col.),
W. W. SIMS,
G. T. COOK,
F. G. BUMPASS,
WILLIAM DARALSON.

[68] From the Ames' collection of letters found in the State Department of Archives and History, at Jackson, Mississippi.

The following letter, dated a few days later, is true in nearly every respect.

ABERDEEN, MISS., Oct. 26, 1875.

HON. A. AMES,
Jackson, Miss.

Honored Sir:

In answer to your letter of the 23d inst., I will say that the whole party are perfectly determined by *any* and *all* means to carry the election. The leading men in our county are N. P. Willis, A. F. Rawson, S. C. Moore, W. W. Hatch, George Wilkin, W. H. Redwood and many others, and they do not hesitate to say that they will have 1,500 men from Alabama to compel the colored men to vote the Democratic ticket or not at all. It occurs to me that it will be almost impossible to hold any election at all in this county. The Republicans will not be allowed to vote. They are determined to have a riot, and make their boast that there will be no U. S. soldiers to protect the voters, they will have it all their own way.

Yours,

JAS. W. LEE,
Sheriff of Monroe Co.

As the long campaign was drawing to a close the interest in political affairs was excited to the highest possible pitch. All eyes were turned toward the election day which was to decide who had won in the struggle. The campaign had brought out the advice of the ministry. Captain E. O. Sykes, who had charge of the military, had frequent interviews with Bishop Robert Paine, a distinguished minister living in Aberdeen, who gave conservative advice to the young leader. But all the minister's admonitions had ended with the invariable refrain, "You must carry the election, if you don't we are lost."[69]

The negroes had began to entertain vague apprehensions as to the results of the election; for they had been fearfully intimidated by the campaign. The bold front and the warlike measures resorted to by the Democrats had confused them and created no little alarm among them. They were in such a state of mind on the day of the election that the least show of violence made them a victim of fear. They preferred voting at the central box, thinking that in the presence of the United States troops and the white Republicans they could vote without being molested.

[69] Geo. J. Leftwich, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IX, 72.

The election laws allowed a voter to vote either at his own box or at the central box, which was then located at Aberdeen. After voting at their home precincts they could be voted at other places also; for then they took a day for voting at each box, and several days were required to cover the county. The Republicans often did this in order to carry elections by an overwhelming majority. The Democratic leaders saw that the negroes were going to vote at Aberdeen *en masse.* They sent men to advise the negroes to vote at home, and advised the Republicans not to mass the negroes at one voting place, but the outcome seemed inevitable, and very exasperating to the Democrats.

On the morning before the election there appeared in the *Aberdeen Examiner* a pledge signed by one hundred and ninety prominent citizens, farmers and business men of Monroe County, in which they threatened to discriminate in making labor contracts against those who should vote the Republican ticket. It was as follows:

1. That they would discharge at least one-third of the more active club leaders and drummers.

2. That they would not knowingly employ any one who had been discharged by any signer of the pledge, or permit to live in houses or on their lands, those who had been introduced in the county in the interest of the Radical party.

3. That they would furnish the County Executive Committee a list of those persons who might have been refused labor on political grounds, to be enrolled in a book kept for the purpose, and which list was to be printed in the *Weekly Examiner* as a standing advertisement for the protection of citizens.[70]

On the day preceding the election, a committee of which Captain E. O. Sykes was chairman, met in conference with a Republican committee, of which J. W. Lee was chairman, and told them frankly:

(1) That they were not going to allow the negroes to vote at the central box; (2) that they had learned that the Republican leaders were intending to vote all the negroes at the central box; (3) that there was likely to be a riot there, if they should attempt it; (4) that they would hold the Republicans responsible for all disturbances of the peace; (5) that they would give the Republicans warning not to bring the negroes there.

[70] Garner's *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi,* 393.

The Republicans gave no satisfactory reply and proceeded to ignore the warnings of the Democratic leaders.[71]

The negroes west of the river could not be prevented from coming to Aberdeen, since they had an open country and there was no way of keeping them from entering the town from that direction. The Democrats tried, however, to keep back the negroes from the east side. To accomplish this, pickets were stationed along the Tombigbee River, north and south of Aberdeen for several miles, with orders to shoot any negro who attempted to cross during the night. In spite of all precaution a few negroes succeeded in crossing by going farther north where there was a ford. The bridge man was ordered to turn the bridge after night and to let it remain turned until after the election, unless it was to let some Alabamians, who were expected, pass. The affair at Sulphur Springs made the Democrats very cautious to prevent riot.

Captain Sykes assumed personal command of the soldiers, who were armed with Enfeld rifles furnished at their own expense.[72] At sunrise on election day Captain Sykes began to reconnoiter. A number of horsemen from Alabama had arrived during the night in order to help the people in any way possible, and had placed themselves under Captain Sykes, who had desired to send them under command of Judge Locke E. Houston to Muldon early on election day. Captain Sykes looked toward the courthouse on the morning of election day and saw at that early hour the courthouse yard rapidly filling with colored men. He judged well that trouble was brewing, and that troops could not be spared from that important field of action. Accordingly, he started toward town to call out his foot soldiers and to have them arm themselves with the rifles and cannon which were in Shell's drug store, when he met Captain Houston who was leading out the cavalry force of Alabamians on the road toward Muldon. He hastily stated the condition of affairs and told them to go immediately to the courthouse and take up an advantageous position, while he himself would bring up his other soldiers. The

[71] This statement is made on the authority of Capt. E. O. Sykes.
[72] Geo. J. Leftwich.

cavalry soon took up its position, and the infantry followed, planting a cannon,[73] said to have been loaded with chains and slugs and plow-shares, at the northwest corner of the court yard, and pointing it directly toward the mass of negroes. In the meantime, Captain J. W. Lee, having had some wordy altercation[74] with Captain T. B. Sykes about the election, earlier in the morning, found it necessary to take refuge in the jail, where a number of military rifles, supposed to have been furnished by Governor Ames for the negroes, were stored. The soldiers were expressly commanded to keep the negroes from the courthouse and from the polls. By this time many more negroes had arrived, and everybody were waiting to see what would take place.

Presently Captain E. O. Sykes walked toward the polls with a big Ku Klux pistol in his hand, and shouted to a special friend of his, A. E. Dalrymple, "Everything is ready, Archie." No sooner said, than "Archie" swung his big cane over his head and expended its momentus force on the woolly head of a nearby negro. Others, following his example, began to use pistols and whatever else was in reach in like manner. The negroes gave way to the aggressive white men and took to their heels, and in a very few minutes something like eight hundred or a thousand negroes had fled.

It is said that some of the negroes never stopped running until they got home, and that when the "Easterners" came to the bridge, which was still turned, they took immediately to the water and swam across.

The negroes lost their chance to vote, and the Democrats carried the box very quietly. The news of success spread and gave the Democrats at other boxes renewed determination. The whole Democratic ticket was elected. In 1871 the Republican candidate for Senator, F. H. Little, had received six hundred and forty-eight votes more than E. O. Sykes, but in the election of 1875, W. M. Hodges, who was candidate for the same office, was beaten by R. C. Reynolds by one thousand, one hundred and

[73] Garner's *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi,* 394.

[74] Geo. J. Leftwich.

seventy-five votes.[75] The Democrats won the day, and have ever since held very tenaciously to their political rights. The negroes are yet in the majority, but in political affairs their voice is nil.

The results of the election are borne out by a few partisan letters written by J. W. Lee and J. E. Meek, as follows:

Nov. 2, 1875.
Aberdeen, Mississippi.

Hon. A. Ames,

Honored Sir:

Our election has been broken up by armed white leaguers. This morning, long before the opening of the polls in this city, the white leaguers came, cavalry, infantry, and they drove the colored men before them and compelled them to flee for their lives. No colored man was allowed to vote unless he voted Democratic. They openly declared that if any Republican tried to go to the polls that they would shoot him down. Out of 700 assembled to vote, over 50 men were allowed to vote. * * * Many strangers are here from Alabama. The colored men could not be rallied after they had been driven from the polls by the white leaguers. We have been slumbering on a volcano for ten days, but to-day it culminated at the ballot-box. It is no longer with them the number of votes, but the number of guns. The Vicksburg election is nothing in point of intimidation to our election to-day.

Yours truly,

J. W. Lee.

Aberdeen, Mississippi,
Nov. 2, '75.

To Gov. Ames.

Sir,—At this moment the election held here to-day was broken up by the Democrats refusing to let the colored voters at the Aberdeen box, unless they voted the Democratic ticket. * * * I was eye witness to the fact that J. W. Lee was forced to take refuge in the county jail for safety for awhile. J. Z. George hoodwinked the President of the United States about peace in Mississippi elections. Gen. George knew better. Preparation was made under his knowledge. He intended to deceive Gov. Ames and Pres. Grant as to the situation of Mississippi in this election. Armed rebellion has been tolerated by Gen. George and his co-workers to carry the election in this county and State. Nothing but armed rebellion against the franchise laws of the State, and the peace and dignity of the people's rights. Here we have all the means to prove the fact to make the election null and void.

Rebels here curse the laws and the powers that be. * * * My report to you has been realized as to the conduct of the rebels.

Respectfully your friend,

J. E. Meek.

[75] Geo. J. Leftwich.

APPENDIX A.

Members of Board of Police.

1865	1868	1865-1867
Floyd Winter	J. E. Meek, pres.	Floyd Winter
H. M. McCoy	Alf. Pickle	M. M. Lewis
J. T. Swansey	Ant. Irvin	W. M. Page
B. B. Barker, pres.	A. H. Whitfield	B. B. Barker, pres.
T. W. Baker,	N. B. Munson	T. W. Baker
C. W. Walton, clerk		C. W. Walton, clerk

1870	1867-1871	1872
Elisha Howell, pres.	A. M. Stockton	T. R. Caldwell
W. W. Troup	David Crenshaw	W. C. Thomas
Geo. Pickle	W. M. Page	W. L. Walton
Spencer Watkins (col.)	B. B. Barker	Geo. Strong (col.)
Price Hogan (col.)	T. W. Baker	Price Hogan (col.)

1874

F. N. Stockton, Lafayette Willis, Chess Young, William Watkins, James Stith.

Amount of Land Sold for Taxes, Approximately.

(*Total Acreage of Monroe County,* 487,043 *Acres.*)

1867,	18,978	acres.
1868,	10,744	"
1869,	16,322	"
1871,	8,787	"
1874,	36,675	"
1875,	48,317	"

APPENDIX B.

Table I. Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in Monroe County in 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 1,000	Total Slave-holders	Total Slaves
116	89	62	49	45	42	47	31	21	80	39	59	39	26	28	24	12	1	810	12,729

Table II. Population of Monroe County, 1860-1880.

	White			Colored			Indians	Total Population	Males, 20 Years and Over		Total Male Citizens 21 Years and Over
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Free	Slaves	Total			White	Colored	
1860	8,487	67	8,545	9	12,729	12,738	..	21,283	2,080	2,787	....
1870	8,512	119	8,631	14,000	.....	14,000	.....	22,631	.....	.....	4,336
1880	10,417	134	10,551	18,001	.....	18,001	1	28,553	.....	.....	5,792

Table III. Nativity of Foreigners in Monroe County, 1870-1880.

	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Sweden and Norway	Switzerland	Italy	Denmark
1870	4	11	24	2	20	1	51	.....	.....	1
1880	6	9	35	1	37	4	32	1	1	.....

TABLE IV. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF MONROE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	FARMS								STAPLE PRODUCTS												
	No.	Average in Acres	Total Acreage		Value of Farms	Method of Cultivat'n			Cotton		Corn		Oats		Wheat		Sweet Potatoes —Bushels	Molasses —Gallons	Butter —Pounds	Value of Farm Products	Value of Live Stock
			Improved	Unimproved		By Owner	Fixed Money Rental	Rented on Shares	Acres	Bales	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels					
1860	903	...	153,699	261,717	6,446,406	.....	.....	.....	.....	46,385	.....	1 145 499	.....	7,871	...	29,782	196,542	.....	.....	.....	$1,255,623
1870	.....	.....	95,312	.....	1,431,399	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,562	....	415,153	.....	.....	.....	12,249	55,651	40	47,380	$1,498,490	656,688
1880	2,942	141	162,852	251,124	2,898,606	1,367	775	800	71,402	23,830	53,431	700,957	7,278	76,270	4,114	18,296	100,560	37,041	283,237	1,675,092	664,586

TABLE V. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS OF MONROE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Number of Establishments	Capital in Dollars	Average Number of Hands			Total Amount Paid in Wages Per Annum	Cost of Material	Value of Products
			Males Above Sixteen	Females Above Sixteen	Children and Youths			
1860.....	10	92,000	120	.....	....	$41,340	$ 56,550	$197,000
1870.	4	20,000	16	....	1	7,680	110,300	149,220
1880.....	53	84,270	100	4	9	21,685	121,160	184,580

TABLE VI. SELECTED MANUFACTURES OF MONROE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	KINDS OF ESTABLISHMENTS	Number	Capital in Dollars	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS: Males Above Sixteen	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS: Females Above Fifteen	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS: Children and Youths	Total Amount Paid in Wages Annually	Value of Materials in Dollars	Value of Products in Dollars
1860....	Carriages	2	11,000	22	.....	.....	$ 6,360	6,000	27,000
	Cotton Gins	1	44,000	25	.....	.....	12,000	20,000	50,000
	Lumber, sawed	3	26,000	39	.....	.....	9,780	15,000	77,000
	Saddlery and Harness	2	7,500	27	.....	.....	9,000	11,000	27,000
	Tin, Copper and Sheet-Iron Ware	2	3,500	7	.....	.....	4,200	4,550	16,000
	Total	10	92,000	120	.....	.....	$41,340	56,550	197,000
1870[1]..	Flouring Mills	1	8,000	4	.....	.....	$ 2,400	73,000	85,220
	Saw Mills	1	6,000	5	.....	.....	2,880	6,000	20,000
	Total	2	14,000	9	.....	.....	$ 5,280	79,000	105,220
1880[2]...	Flouring and Grist Mills	17	45,800	38	.....	.....	$ 4,325	69,435	79,525
	Lumber, sawed	3	19,500	8	.....	.....	2,900	15,200	28,000
	Total	20	65,300	46	.....	.....	$ 7,225	84,635	107,525

[1] All industries producing less than $20,000 annually are omitted.
[2] All industries with a gross annual production of less than $10.000, except "neighborhood industries" producing as much as $2,500 or more annually, are omitted.

TABLE VII. ASSESSED VALUATION, TAXATION AND INDEBTEDNESS OF MONROE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION: Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	TAXATION: State	County	City, Town or Village	Total	PUBLIC DEBT: Bonded Debt	Floating Debt	Gross Debt	Net Debt
1860.....	$7,570,561	$15,712,293	$23,282,854	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 2,500
1870.....	2,664,048	1,212,556	3,876,664	$26,213	$54,271	$ 5,000	$85,484	.....	.....	.....	30,197
1880.....	1,941,337	825,690	2,767,027	14,315	37,709	10,500	62,524	$7,521	$22,676	$30,197	

TABLE VIII. SCHOOL STATISTICS OF MONROE COUNTY FOR 1860-1870.

	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	Total Cost of Schools	Number of Pupils							Cannot Read—10 and Over	Cannot Write							
							White		Colored			White				Colored			
				Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.		10 to 15	15 to 21	21 and Over		10 to 15	15 to 21	21 and Over	
														Male	Fem.			Male	Fem.
1860	20	26	$5,434	600	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	.....	.....	.....	56	56	..	31	23	2	.....	8,058	457	294	177	280	1,532	1,311	1,973	2,217

TABLE IX. CHURCH STATISTICS OF MONROE COUNTY, 1860-1870.

	Baptist		Christian		Congregational		Episcopal		Methodist		Presbyterian		Roman Catholic		Total Organizations	Total Edifices	Total Sittings	Total Value of Property
	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings	Organizations	Sittings				
1860	7	1,950	1	200	.....	.....	1	300	15	4,400	1	300	.....	.....	.....	25	7,150	$57,175
1870	21	6,000	1	400	1	.....	1	300	32	9,000	3	950	1	300	60	55	16,950	92,500

RECONSTRUCTION IN LAWRENCE AND JEFFERSON DAVIS COUNTIES.

By Hattie Magee.[1]

Lawrence County was one of the fourteen territorial counties represented in the first Constitutional Convention of Mississippi (1817), having been carved out of Marion in 1814. It is situated in the south central part of the State. It was named in honor of the Chesapeake hero whose dying words were, "Don't give up the ship." Twice prior to the war, parts of its territory were taken to form new counties. In 1870, in the midst of the reconstruction period, the western part of the county was formed into the county of Lincoln, the dividing line running due south from the northern boundary of Lawrence about halfway between the Illinois Central Railroad and Pearl River, leaving the county with an area of six hundred and thirty-eight square miles and boundaries as follows: On the north, the old Choctaw boundary

[1] This contribution was prepared in the Historical Seminary of the University of Mississippi in the session of 1908-'09.

Hattie Magee was born near Oakvale, Lawrence County, Mississippi. Her maternal ancestor, Butler Buckley, was kidnapped when a nine-year-old boy playing on the beach with his nurse in England, and was brought to America and sold as an indented servant. He was adopted into the family of his master, who gave him a son's share of the estate. Butler Buckley married a Miss Story. Their son, Bartlett, married Hixa Bell, daughter of a Revolutionary soldier. Their descendant, Noel Story Buckley, a prosperous farmer and physician, was married to Nellie Ann Wiggins, one of the eleven daughters of Jesse Wiggins, a wealthy planter who had removed from Georgia and settled in Covington County, near the present town of Richmond. Noel Story Buckley, having been an Old Line Whig before the war, became a Republican after the surrender. But he was trusted and respected throughout the reconstruction period. His brothers were all Democrats, and two of them lost their lives in the war. His daughter, Martha Ann Buckley, is the mother of the subject of this sketch.

Tobias Magee came from North Carolina early in the nineteenth century. He settled in Lawrence County, where he accumulated a large tract of land and a number of slaves. He married a Miss Stevens, also a native North Carolinian, shortly after his removal to Mississippi. They built a home near the present town of Prentiss, where they reared a family of sixteen children, one of whom was Jackson Calvin Magee, whose son, John C. Magee, is the father of the subject of this sketch.—Editor.

line of 1805, which separated it from Simpson and Copiah Counties; on the east, Covington County; on the south, Marion and Pike Counties; and on the west, Lincoln County. The county of Lincoln was formed in order that Lawrence might be rid of the Republicans in its western part. In 1906 Lawrence County was divided for the last time, the eastern part forming a new county named Jefferson Davis.

It is noteworthy that of the last two contributions of her territory, which Lawrence made to new counties, the western part in 1870 went to form a county named in honor of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, while the eastern portion helped to form a county named in honor of the President of the Confederacy.

In this sketch it is our purpose to write the history of reconstruction in the whole area of country known as Lawrence County during the reconstruction period. This included the present counties of Lawrence and Jefferson Davis and, prior to 1870, the western strip which was taken from Lawrence at that time to form Lincoln. However, we shall deal with the history of the last named section only so far as its history concerns that of the county as a whole.

Monticello, situated on the west bank of Pearl River, has been the seat of government since the organization of the county. This town was made the capital of the State in 1821, but the act was repealed twenty-four hours later. In 1827 Monticello made another unsuccessful effort to become the capital of the State.[2] In former years it was a thriving business town as well as a political center. At the beginning of reconstruction, however, it was composed of straggling, dilapidated houses and had not a single merchant.[3] The only other towns during this period were Bogue Chitto and Brookhaven, and these being in the extreme western part of the county, went to the new county of Lincoln in 1870. Hence, Lawrence County, proper, had no municipalities

[2] Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 153; *Woodville Republican*, January 23, 1827.

[3] This information was obtained from Judge J. B. Chrisman, of Canton, who lived at Monticello at that time.

during the reconstruction period.[4] Only one railroad, now known as the Illinois Central, ran through the county at the beginning of this period, but when Lincoln County was formed Lawrence was left without any railroad. The first road to enter the present limits of the county was the Columbia branch of the Gulf and Ship Island, built in 1903. Since that time the following roads have been built: The Mississippi Central, the New Orleans Great Northern, and a branch of the Illinois Central. Pearl River, which was then a navigable stream, runs through the county from north to south.

In 1805 the old Federal Road,[5] from Ocmulgee River in Georgia to St. Stephens in Alabama, was opened by treaty through the country of the Creeks and was extended two years later to Natchez, running through the present town of Monticello. This made it easy for the settlers of South Carolina and Georgia to immigrate into the section of Mississippi Territory through which this road ran, and many of them settled in the portion which afterwards became Lawrence County. The first settler was Harmon Runnels from Georgia, who built the first house in Monticello and named the town for Jefferson's home. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1817, and his son became Governor of the State. Until the present day the citizens of Lawrence have taken a prominent part in public affairs, even though the county has seemingly been isolated from the world. It has given to the State three Governors, one Secretary of State, one Auditor, one member of Congress, one chancery judge, three circuit judges and three district attorneys.

At the time of reconstruction the people were impoverished by the ravages of war. The population of the county in the year 1860 was 5,513 whites, 4 free blacks, and 3,700 slaves, making a total population of 9,213. In 1870 there was a population of 3,678 whites and 3,042 free blacks, making a total population of 7,720.

The surface of the county is undulating and hilly, except in

[4] For a short time in this period, Monticello was probably an incorporated town, though this fact has not been verified. See *infra.*

[5] *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society,* II, 49-54.

river and creek bottoms, where it is level. At the period about which we are writing, the people engaged chiefly in farming, though the excellent pasturage and reed brakes afforded facilities for stock raising and sheep husbandry to a limited extent, particularly in the southern part of the country. The chief farm products were cotton, corn, rice, Irish and sweet potatoes, sugar cane, peanuts, oats and melons. At that time, the county abounded in extensive forests of the long leaf pine, which practically untouched until the coming of railroads in the county, have since been converted into the commercial products of lumber, turpentine, etc. Other forest trees are the hickory, various kinds of oaks, the beech, the poplar, gums, etc.

In the latter part of the war, when the Federal Army was invading that part of the State, the county records were moved to Natchez for safe keeping. These were hauled back to Monticello in a wagon shortly after the close of hostilities, about September, 1865.[6]

Some of the records were lost in this way, while still others were destroyed by the cyclone which swept away Monticello in 1883.

There was only one paper, *The Monticello Advocate,*[7] published at the county seat. It was edited by Rev. Steve Dale, father of the present editor of *The Lawrence County Press,* now published at the same place. *The Southern Journal,* edited by Pitts and Roe, was published at Brookhaven. In 1869 it passed into the hands of Mr. James S. Magee who changed its title to *The Brookhaven Citizen.* All files of these papers have been lost by fire and otherwise.

---

[6] In the *Minutes of the Board of Police,* 1859-1871, Page 257, is found an entry stating that Mr. E. S. Robertson was allowed in September, 1865, $69.90 for hauling the county records from Natchez to Monticello.

[7] This paper consisted of only four pages. It is said that Mr. Dale had a very meager collection of type which had been given him by Mr. Fleet Cooper, of Brookhaven, and that it was "set up with fence rails." His type was a mixture of small and capital letters, and we are told that this fact led to the passage of a State law requiring that advertisements be paid for by the number of words instead of the space. This information was given by Judge R. H. Thompson, of Jackson, Mississippi.

Political Parties and Leaders.

During the period from 1865 to 1875, Lawrence County, in common with all other sections of the South at that time, had within her borders four distinct political classes or elements. There were two parties, the Democratic and Republican. The Democratic party was homogenous, since all its members belonged to the same class. On the other hand, the Republican party, while united in its purpose to dominate the affairs of the county and fill all the offices with its men, if possible, was divided within itself into three distinct classes. These were the negroes, the carpetbaggers and the native Republicans, or "Scalawags." The last class may be subdivided into those who, coming from the Old Line Whigs, were Republicans from principle, and those who were Republicans merely for the spoils of office.

The Democratic party was made up of those who had been ardent supporters of secession and had fought valiantly in the Confederate Army. Having risked all for the sake of the Confederate cause, they came home after the surrender broken in hope and fortune, but undaunted in their determination to retrieve the county and to lay again their lives upon the altar, if necessary, to lift it from its depleted and prostrate condition and place it once more on a sure footing.

Opposing the Democratic party in its struggle for the welfare of the county was the Republican party, made up, as we have said, of distinct and even conflicting classes. It should be remembered that a few scalawags, particularly in what afterwards became Lincoln County, had been Union men before the war and had opposed secession. They were not only intelligent and prominent political leaders, but upright and honest men and thoroughly respected throughout the county even by their political enemies. The county was very fortunate in having during this dark period of its history so many of this class of Republicans, for though we could not and cannot love their politics and cannot exactly understand how they could reconcile themselves to the diabolical methods adopted by the Republican party in the South just after the war, we know they were the leaven that

leavened the whole lump of Republicanism, and it is partly due to them that Lawrence County was saved from the violent and destructive storms of political greed that swept over many other counties of the State.

The second class of scalawags were so despicable that their course arouses indignation and merits the severest condemnation. They were the "turncoats" who were Republicans only for the spoils of office. There are always some who follow the winning side regardless of principles or methods. These were natives of the county, but as a rule were from the floating, drifting population. Their ancestors had never achieved anything and they followed the paternal example. Some of these were malicious men, who did not scruple to fill their purses at the expenses of the county whenever occasion offered, while others were attracted merely by the glitter of public office and did no harm purposely and wilfully to the county.

The negroes made a second class of the Republican party, and it is needless to state that they were illiterate and totally unqualified to take part in public affairs. They were fresh from the bonds of slavery and had never known anything in their lives but work on the plantations of their masters. Although most of the negroes of Lawrence County were ambitious to see their race prominent in politics, there were only a few malicious characters among them, and for the most part, they were as quiet and law-abiding as was possible under the circumstances. They had little ill-will and hatred toward their former masters.

The third element in the Republican party was the hated carpetbaggers. There were only two of them in Lawrence County, and they were of a mild type, either by nature, or because they were not sufficiently licensed by the other Republican leaders in the county.

The motives of the different Republican classes were also varied. That of the Old Line Whig element was to promote the interests of the Republican party; that of the "turncoat" scalawag, to fill his pockets by robbing the county and to get into public limelight as much as possible; that of the negro, to get into office and vote the Republican ticket, not for any love he

had for the party, but because he thought that by so doing he would advance his own interests, his expectations ranging from "forty acres and a mule" to some petty beat or county office; that of the carpetbaggers, to fill his pockets with ill-gotten gain, whether from the negro, whom he pretended to befriend, from the scalawags, or from the Democrats.

Only a few leaders of these various classes will receive special mention in this sketch. There were besides them, however, a number of followers who were more or less active throughout the entire period.

The three Democrats deserving particular mention are W. H. Butler, S. E. Parkman and John S. Neal. W. H. Butler,[8] a native of Lawrence County, who lived at Monticello, was elected Sheriff of the county in the latter part of the year 1871, and went into office in 1872. He continued to hold that office during the remainder of the reconstruction period. At that time he was a young man, and then, as well as now, very popular throughout the county. This latter statement is attested by the fact that, although he was a staunch Democrat and was bitterly opposed to Republicanism in every form, he held the office of Sheriff during the last years of the reconstruction period, each time defeating a Republican candidate. It is said that he was deliberately nominated by the Democratic party because he was the only man in the county who could defeat the Republican nominee. Mr. Butler, now an old man, is postmaster at Monticello, which position he has filled a number of years. He is a man of intelligence and ability, and Lawrence County owes much to him for his services in this trying period.

Mr. S. E. Parkman[9] was elected a member of the Board of Supervisors in the latter part of 1871 and continued to serve as a member of that body during the remainder of the reconstruction period. He was a native of the county, an old Confederate soldier. His home was about five miles east of Pearl River, in

[8] This information was obtained from Mr. W. W. Williams, an upright and respected citizen of Lawrence County, now living at Monticello.

[9] Ibid.

the extreme southern part of the county, on the river road running from Monticello to Columbia. In addition to his farming interests, he ran a little country store and kept the postoffice of Oak Vale, a mile and a half east of the present town of Oak Vale, on the G. & S. I. Railroad. Mr. Parkman, like the majority of the citizens of this interior county, was not highly educated, but he was a man of keen, discerning judgment, and more than average ability and intelligent interest in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the county. Being scrupulously honest himself, he demanded the same of others, and those who wished for fraudulent contracts dared not apply to the Board of Supervisors while he was a member of the body for "jobs of that kind." He guarded the interests of the county and its citizens, and was, with Mr. Neal, the dominant and controlling spirit of the Board of Supervisors, being president of the board in 1872. He is still living, where he lived in those days, and, as one of his friends has so well said, is "quietly waiting the last roll-call." [10]

Another man who was "honest to a fault," and could not tolerate anything but the strictest honesty in others, was Captain Jno. S. Neal.[11] He, with Mr. Parkman, as Mr. Williams expresses it, "made a fine team for meeting all job hunters," who hated them like rattlesnakes because of their strict adherence to the right. Mr. Neal was elected a member of the Board of Supervisors in 1873 and continued to serve during the remainder of that period, helping Mr. Parkman and other loyal Democrats to guard carefully the best interests of the county. In the fifties he came from South Carolina to Lawrence County, where he married and lived until his death. Although he was during the reconstruction period a faithful Democrat and did much to put the county under obligations to him, he was a man of extreme prejudices and many eccentricities, and was misunderstood by many citizens of the county. After having served the Democratic cause throughout the reconstruction period, he accepted, in the latter part of the seventies, a nomination for Representative on the Republican ticket, and was defeated. He later ran

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

for office as an Independent and was again defeated. From that time he remained an Independent Democrat until his death.

Besides these three active Democrats, who gave their time and energy to the service of the county, there were many just as loyal though less conspicuous Democrats over the county who rendered valiant service for their party. Only a few of these can be mentioned, though "their name is legion." The late Judge J. B. Chrisman, of Canton, and Judge R. H. Thompson, now of Jackson, were practicing lawyers at Monticello during a part of this period. Both were strong Democrats, but held no office. Judge Chrisman was once solicited to run for Representative on the Democratic ticket but refused to do so.[12] Previous to that time he had been a Representative from Lawrence County in 1852, and a Senator from the counties of Pike and Lawrence from 1859 to 1865.[13] Judge Thompson was Senator from Lawrence, Lincoln and Pike at the close of the war, was elected Chancery Clerk in 1875, defeating E. B. Waddell. He took no active part in politics during the period from 1865 to 1875.

There were several Republican leaders who must be mentioned in this connection. Judge Wm. Vannerson,[14] though not the most active one, was, perhaps, better known throughout the State than was any other citizen of the county. He was, at that time, an old man, and he died about the close of Republican rule in the county. He was a native of Virginia, but had come to Mississippi and settled at Natchez about the year 1825, where he entered upon the practice of law and soon acquired a State-wide reputation as a criminal lawyer. He moved to Monticello in 1844, and soon became known there as the "Napoleon of the bar," of which title he was very proud. While not a very highly educated and scholarly man, he was rarely gifted and was fond of thrusts at his legal antagonists at the bar, sometimes retaining with difficulty the dignity of a "judge." In 1868 General Ord appointed him Probate Judge of the county and Governor

[12] This information was obtained from Dr. G. A. Teunisson, of Monticello, who has served his county in both branches of the Legislature.

[13] *Official and Statistical Register of Mississippi,* 1908.

[14] Foote's *Bench and Bar of Mississippi; Weekly Clarion,* Jackson, April 28, 1875.

Alcorn later appointed him Chancery Clerk. He was given these offices chiefly because of his age and eminence, since he was not a man of strong political convictions.[15]

Dr. John Gartman, Senator from the counties of Lawrence, Pike and Covington in 1871 and 1872, was one of the strongest political characters of that period, though he became a citizen of Lincoln upon the formation of that county in 1870. He was a born politician, and was thoroughly respected and trusted by men of all parties because of his uprightness of character and fidelity to his political convictions. Having been an Old Line Whig, he was a firm believer in the principles of the Republican party, in the service of which he continued until his death. He had been a Representative from the county of Covington as early as 1842. After the formation of Lincoln County he was the central figure in its politics to the end of the reconstruction period.

Judge G. S. McMillan[16] was a prominent Republican of the county during the reconstruction period, but had been a Democrat previous to the war. He took no active part in the Confederate cause other than clothing the soldiers who enlisted in the Confederate Army from his community. Judge McMillan was born in Springville, Erie County, N. Y., in 1829, and came to Monticello, Mississippi, in 1847. He practiced law in Smith County from 1850 to 1855 and then returned to Monticello. In 1858 he was appointed District Attorney of the Second Judicial District, which office he held for ten years. Governor Alcorn appointed him Chancellor of this district in 1870 and he continued to hold that office by reappointment for six years.[17]

[15] These facts were obtained from Judge R. H. Thompson, an honored member of the Jackson bar.

[16] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 1229-1230.

[17] Article IX of the charges preferred against Governor Ames was that in 1874 he "failed, neglected and refused to nominate to the Senate, in session at the regular session of the Legislature, under the constitution, a chancellor to succeed G. S. McMillan, the then incumbent chancellor of the Second Chancery District of said State, whose term of office was then about to expire, and did expire on the 16th day of June, A. D. 1874; and afterwards in vacation of said Senate and after its adjournment, to-wit: on the 12th day of April, A. D. 1874, appointed as chancellor of said district one G. S. McMillan to be his own successor." (*The testimony in the Impeachment of Adelbert Ames*, 34.)

Dr. J. D. Boozer, a young man at that time, was also an active Republican. He came to Scott County, Mississippi, from South Carolina as a teacher in the period of the war. In 1866 he removed to Lawrence County, where he has since resided. He now lives near the town of Arm, a few miles south of Monticello, on the river running from Monticello to Columbia. He graduated from one of the colleges in South Carolina, and then took his degree in medicine. He is not, however, a successful physician, and spends most of his time farming and trading. Dr. Boozer attended the meetings of the Loyal League and helped to organize the negroes effectively in the county. He was a member of the Board of Supervisors; also held the offices of County Surveyor and Justice of the Peace.[18]

Chris Eivers, E. B. Waddell and E. M. Pepper were perhaps the most contemptible and thoroughly corrupt of the scalawags, unless it was the defaulting Treasurer. Chris Eivers, who was at one time Superintendent of Education in the county and postmaster at Monticello, was the son of an Irish sailor and peddler. His father had tried both farming and the mercantile business without achieving any success in either. Mr. Eivers kept himself busy attending the secret meetings of the negroes and informing them on political affairs.

E. B. Waddell was, it seems, the only real vicious scalawag in the county.[19] He was a native of Covington County and removed from Mt. Carmel to Monticello to assist his uncle, Dr. Hall, who was an internal revenue collector. Waddell was a clever, social and able man with an attractive personality, which won for him friends among his most bitter political enemies, but he was unscrupulous and dishonest in his dealings, seeking only his own interests. He dominated the politics of the county, managed to keep himself in office most of the time, and did not scruple to do anything, even to the point of social equality, in order to hold sway over the negro voters. He was the first elected Sheriff of the county in the reconstruction period. It is said that while he

[18] These statements are based on information obtained from Dr. Boozer.
[19] This statement is made on the authority of three reliable citizens of the county.

held this office he would tell negroes that if they would pay him $2.50 he would get them forty acres of land. A negro would pay him the money and he would put it in his pocket, pretending to register the unsuspected victim for the land. After the negro had lived on the land for some time he would find it had never been recorded in his name, and in order to get it he would have to enter it according to law.

M. M. Fortenberry was a native of the county. Although a defaulting Treasurer, he seems not to have been a vicious man, but of rather weak character, and easily assailed and overwhelmed by temptation.

R. O. Byrne[20] was a man of good, upright character, but brought himself into disrepute by joining the Republican party and teaching negro schools. He was at one time Superintendent of Education in the county by appointment. He was of good family and his children have since held the esteem of the people, one of his sons being now Sheriff of the county. The following letter in regard to Mr. Byrne gives an insight into his character:

MONTICELLO, July 8, 1870.

DR. JOHN GARTMAN,
Jackson.

Dear Friend:

R. O. Byrne, so I hear, has got a few persons to recommend him for Supt. Public Education for this county. Now, the white men who recommend him are not to be relied on as Republicans, and R. O. Byrne, as you well know, is a strong secessionist and has no right to receive anything from the Republican party. He comes in now after the battle for political supremacy is over to have a dive at the "fleshpots" and enjoy the fruits of our labor. Now, you and Mr. Lynch promised me faithfully that I should have the appointment, and I want you to see that I get it. I can get hundreds of Republicans to recommend me, but Mr. Lynch said my application would do as it was, and that it "should be put through anyhow." If you want recommendations, I can get them, but you all know how I stand with the party. R. O. Byrne might scent a few about Cowart's and Sharp's places, but he would not scent one out of ten in the county. Talk it over.

As ever yours.

C. C. EIVERS.[21]

---

[20] These facts were obtained from Mr. W. W. Williams, of Monticello.

[21] To this loyal Republican's disgust, Dr. Gartman considered R. O. Byrne a worthy man and caused his appointment. This statement was made by Dr. Gartman's sister at Brookhaven. The letter quoted above was obtained from Dr. Gartman's private papers.

E. O. Cowart, Representative from Lawrence in 1874 and 1875, was another leading Republican. He came from Marion County and had been a Confederate soldier.[22]

John Jolly was a leader in organizing the Republican party, especially among the negroes, and was at one time County Treasurer, though he was not an inveterate office-seeker. He was considered an honest man.[23]

The chief negro politician and leader was Henry Mason.[24] He was unusually intelligent for an illiterate field hand, and was the recognized party leader among the negroes, having been chairman of the Republican Executive Committee of Lawrence County and jailor at Monticello for five years. Mason seems to have had the knack of being able to know when to bestow favors upon the Democrats, as we shall see later. This old darkey is still living near Monticello and keeps up with current events by having his children read to him, as he did during the reconstruction period, at which time he "read" regularly the Republican papers published at Jackson and elsewhere.

Another prominent negro in Lawrence until the formation of Lincoln County was George Charles. He was Representative from Lawrence County in 1870 and 1871, being in the Legislature at the time the new county was formed. As he lived in the section which was cut off from Lawrence by act of the Legislature, the county was fortunate enough to lose him.[25] He continued to figure prominently in the politics of Lincoln County.

Other negroes who held offices in the county were Reuben Fields, Pason Smith and Morris Brown, all of whom were at some time during the period members of the Board of Supervisors, and John Allen, Justice of the Peace in Beat One. None of these latter negroes were able to write their names, but were very quiet, good negroes. Reuben Fields and John Allen were negro preachers. The writer has a very vivid picture of "Uncle

---

[22] This fact was obtained from Mr. W. W. Williams.

[23] Ibid.

[24] The facts here recorded were obtained from several leading citizens of the county.

[25] This fact was obtained from Mr. W. W. Williams.

Reuben," as we children were taught to call him, riding about in his dilapidated gig wearing a threadbare, but highly-prized, black alpaca coat and derby hat.

The two carpetbaggers in the county were Frank A. Clover and John D. Moore. There are conflicting reports as to where these men came from. Mr. C. G. Wood, in his "Reconstruction in Lincoln County," says Frank A. Clover came from Chicago, but after consulting various men who knew Clover, it has been found that more agree upon St. Louis, Missouri, than any other place.[27] For this reason, I am inclined to believe that he came from St. Louis, but it is a question about which we cannot be definitely certain, since there are so many conflicting reports. Suffice it to say, he was a carpetbagger, seeking his own gain and not the interests of the county in which he operated. He was about thirty or forty years of age—a tall, thin, dark man, fine looking, well educated and competent, but rather peculiar.[28] He first appeared in Lawrence County, at Brookhaven, and was sent from that place into the interior of the county to Monticello in order to thoroughly organize the Republican party, which he succeeded in doing. He was popular with the negroes and always led them as he wished. It is told of him that he would curse the negroes for lifting their hats to white men, and if an election did not go as he wished and expected, his favorite saying was, "There's something rotten in Denmark."[29] Clover was appointed Circuit and Chancery Clerk in 1870 and 1871, after which time he left Lawrence and went to Lincoln County, where he held the same office until about the close of the reconstruction period. Two letters were addressed to him at Jackson, Mississippi, in March, 1875, by Governor Ames, appointing him "temporarily" to collect "revenue improperly withheld from the State and county treasury." In one of these letters he was assigned "the counties of Warren, Hinds, Rankin, Pike and Lawrence," and in the other the counties of "Warren, Hinds, Pike,

[27] Judge R. H. Thompson and Henry Mason (colored) both give this as the home of Clover.

[28] Mr. R. Leonard, of Arm; Dr. G. A. Teunisson, of Monticello, and Dr. J. D. Boozer, of Arm, are my authorities for these statements.

[29] Dr. J. D. Boozer.

Madison, Holmes, Sunflower, Leflore, Montgomery, Attala, Grenada, Lauderdale, Rankin, Scott, Newton and Clark." These letters indicate that he was in Jackson at that time, still serving Governor Ames.[30] He must have served in the counties named in the second letter referred to, since there is nothing to show that he was in Lawrence County after this time, and since this letter was signed by the Governor himself, while the first was signed by "J. N. Osborn, Governor's Private Secretary." Clover was a sharp, shrewd, and rather vicious man, doing no overt acts of robbery, because he dared not in Lawrence, but doing numbers of small pusillanimous things for which he could not be brought to account.[31] In other words, he went as far as he dared go with his black Republican methods. Clover went from Mississippi after 1875 to New Orelans and remained there some time, where either he or his wife died.[32]

John D. Moore was an officer in the Union Army and a member of the Masonic Lodge at his home in Sacketts Harbor, Rhode Island. He applied for membership in the lodge at Brookhaven, and was accepted after some correspondence with his home lodge.[33] He was Sheriff of Lawrence County during the years 1870 to 1871, and left the county with the formation of Lincoln, becoming Sheriff of that county, first by appointment and afterwards by election.[34] He also held the office of Tax Collector, in which he defaulted to the amount of $3,570.91.[35] His bondsmen, Major R. W. Millsaps and Dr. J. W. Bennett, were forced to make this shortage good. It has been said that his defalcation was more the sin of his bookkeeper than of Moore.[36] While an officer of Lawrence County, Moore won the respect of the white people because he did not always side with the negroes. The

---

[30] Ames Collection of Letters, in the Department of Archives and History at Jackson, Mississippi.

[31] This statement is made on the authority of Judge R. H. Thompson.

[32] Dr. J. B. Daughtry, of Brookhaven.

[33] From facts collected by Dr. Franklin L. Riley from Mr. John Crosby, of Newhebron.

[34] Wood's "Reconstruction in Lincoln County" (Manuscript in the Library of the University of Mississippi).

[35] *Mississippi Reports,* LVIII, 1; LIX, 286.

[36] Dr. J. B. Daughtry.

citizens of the county could go to him while Sheriff about any lawlessness among the negroes and trust him to put it down.[37] Another equally honest and reliable citizen of the county at that time says that Moore was good-natured, but trifling and inefficient.[38] The woman who claimed to be his wife dominated him. She had a drug store in Brookhaven, and was grasping and clever. This same informant said that Moore claimed to be from New York.

Government.

In 1865 at the close of the war, a body of negro soldiers under the command of Colonel Galbreath, was stationed at Monticello, but was removed at the end of six months. These troops did little more than camp on the outskirts of the town for that time. Galbreath was an officer in the United States Army and an honest man, daring to do what he thought was right. The negro soldiers made the acquaintance of their own race, and in this way the captain kept posted as to the status of the whole population. The negroes were invited to carry their grievances to the commander, and some of them had their masters summoned before the commander, who was not long in finding that he had undertaken too great a task, and he did little more than advise and threaten the white people. This drum-head court consolidated the white men and laid the foundations for the racial antagonisms that have never died.[39]

The citizens of the county were required in 1865 to go to Brookhaven to take the Amnesty Oath, which nearly all of them did.[40] Widows were also required to take this oath under threat of confiscation of their property if they refused.[41] The following is a copy of the oath taken by Mrs. D. M. Dillon, of Monticello:

I, D. M. Dillon, do solemnly swear (or affirm) in the presence of Almighty God that I will hereafter faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of the States there-

[37] Dr. G. A. Teunisson.
[38] Judge R. H. Thompson.
[39] Judge J. B. Chrisman.
[40] Mr. H. M. Buckley, of Oakley, Mississippi.
[41] Mrs. Sallie Watts, of Monticello.

under; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God.

D. M. DILLON.

L. S. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22d day of July, 1865.

W. P. BAGGETT,
Probate Judge.
L. C.

I certify that the above is a true copy of an oath sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of July, A. D. 1865.

W. P. BAGGETT,
Probate Judge.[42]
L. C.

Several widows from this interior county would go together in ox-wagons to Brookhaven, which was twenty-two miles from Monticello. Judge J. C. Buckley administered the Amnesty Oath. An amusing incident is told by one widow who went to Brookhaven to take this oath. The women approached the office of Judge Buckley and passed through the door under crossed bayonets of two sentries into the front room. Upon being told to go into a back room where they would find Judge Buckley, they followed instructions only to be yelled at by the said gentleman in a loud manner "Go out'n here 'til I wash my face and hands." After a short time he went into the front room and began asking countless annoying questions, talking through his nose and making the interview as disagreeable as possible to the women. He asked one of them the color of her hair and eyes to which she responded, characteristic of her native humor, that they were yellow. He asked another, "Mrs. Taylor, how many little piggies, how many little hoggies, how many little goosies, you got?" In response, another lady, who also had a sense of humor, said, "I got a heap of little piggies and little hoggies."[43]

In 1867, according to the requirements of the Reconstruction Act, the citizens of Mississippi as well as of the other Southern States who had held office prior to the war and afterwards taken up arms against the United States, were disfranchised. In May, 1868, General Ord appointed H. H. Durham, John Gartman and

[42] Mrs. A. C. Fairman, of Monticello, a sister of Mrs. Dillon, has this document.

[43] These facts are related on the authority of Mrs. Sallie Watts, of Monticello.

James Swann, registrars of the county. They immediately took up the matter of completing the registration of voters. Up to the revision of 1869, there were 1,177 white and 908 colored registered voters in Lawrence County.[44] After the revision of 1869, the white voters numbered 1,360 and the black 1,090.[45]

From 1865 to 1869, only Democratic officers of the county were appointed and the government was as satisfactorily managed as was possible under the then existing state of affairs.[46]

With the establishment of military rule in 1869 came the appointment of Republican officers and the arrival of the hated carpetbaggers. Of course, all officers were Republicans, but only Clover and Moore were carpetbaggers. Ike Cope was first appointed Clerk, but was succeeded by Frank A. Clover in October, 1869, who continued to hold the office until the close of military rule. Moore was Sheriff and made a good officer.[47]

By the State Constitution of 1868, as finally adopted, the old County Board of Police was abolished and in its stead was established the Board of Supervisors.[48] The State having been admitted to the Union February 23, 1870, its counties were freed from military rule. The officers of Lawrence County elected for 1871 were all Republicans,[49] but natives of the county, except J. D. Boozer, who was a member of the Board of Supervisors. Of these, however, three were Old Line Whigs. For the next two years, all the officers were Democrats, with the exception of Morris Brown, colored, in 1872-'73 and Zachariah Nelson in 1873, both of whom were members of the Board of Supervisors. In 1874 the Republicans again carried the county, with the exception of W. H. Butler, Sheriff, and three members of the Board of Supervisors. This was the last Republican triumph in the county, as in 1875, the Republican party was routed throughout the State. In the period from 1871 to 1875 there were altogether

[44] See Wood's "Reconstruction in Lincoln County" for a full account of this work.

[45] "Addenda to General Orders No. 60, Series of 1869," among Dr. Gartman's private papers, kindly loaned to the writer by Mr. C. G. Wood.

[46] Mr. W. W. Williams.

[47] Dr. G. A. Teunisson.

[48] Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 300.

[49] Mr. W. W. Williams.

three negroes on the Board of Supervisors. As only one of them served at a time, they were figureheads, being powerless with so many Democrats. There was one Justice of the Peace in Beat One, John Allen. The joke is told on him that while presiding over his courts, he would often fall asleep in his chair, utterly oblivious to the proceedings.[50] In 1870 the county had a negro Representative in the Legislature, George Charles, who became a citizen of Lincoln upon the formation of that county. This was the extent of office-holding among the negroes of Lawrence County.

The taxes were high in Lawrence County, as they were throughout the State during the greater part of the reconstruction period. They ranged from two mills on the dollar in 1869 through fifteen mills on the dollar in 1870, down to ten mills in 1875.[51] Poll taxes were $6 from 1864 to about 1870. They ran as high as $7.40 at one time.[52] Taxes on dogs were $5. There was a tax of one cent on a five-cent box of matches. The tax on cotton was $3 a bale. In the case of one widow, the assessor never went to see her at all, but put in her milk cows of ordinary stock at $40 each.[53]

From the years 1866 to 1875 there was sold on an average each year for taxes 7,775 7/10 acres of land.

There were no fraudulent contracts awarded by the Board of Supervisors in Lawrence County during the period of reconstruction.[54] The following extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Police, 1869-1870, pages 238-284, show some of the contracts that were let at that time:

Five hundred dollars allowed H. H. Dale for building bridge over Silver Creek, on Mt. Carmel road, to be paid out of special bridge fund. A. Hartzog, member of board, "authorized and instructed" to sell salt purchased by him for destitute families of soldiers to commissioners for 35c a pound. J. N. Cowart allowed $75 for transcribing assessment roll

---

[50] Dr. G. A. Teunisson.
[51] Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 313; *Minutes of Board of Police* and *Board of Supervisors.*
[52] Henry Mason (colored).
[53] Mrs. Sallie Watts.
[54] Mr. W. W. Williams.

of the county. J. N. Cowart allowed $66 "for one blank book and for stationery purchased for the clerk's office, to be paid out of the county fund."

So far as can be ascertained, none of these allowances were in any way fraudulent. The county warrants went down in value, and jurors and witnesses could not get any pay. The Sheriff did not pay any money into the treasury. According to the statement of the Treasurer, when he paid tax money into the treasury, he paid it in warrants. It was against the law for the Sheriff to trade in warrants, but he held them when he went to settle with the county. It is not known whether the Sheriff himself bought up these warrants, but evidently some one was making money by shaving warrants. It is not known what year this occurred. These warrants were sold in the market at a fearful discount.[55]

The municipalities of Bogue Chitto and Brookhaven, in what became Lincoln County, do not come within the scope of this history. It is said that the town of Monticello was incorporated for a short time with Rev. S. W. Dale, editor of *The Monticello Advocate,* Mayor, and Geo. W. Garrett, Marshal.[56] Both of these men were Democrats.

In the year 1873 M. M. Fortenberry, a Republican, was elected Treasurer. At the October meeting of the Board of Supervisors in 1875 there was found to be a shortage in his account. A suit was brought against him and his bondsmen. At the December meeting of the board two of its members, John S. Neal and Isaiah Smith, were appointed to investigate the Treasurer's books. These men found a shortage of $3,062.77. There are two versions of the cause of Mr. Fortenberry's defalcation. One report has it that he loaned the county money, to his Republican friends, in good faith that they would return it to him according to promise. There was also a rumor that he went to New York to buy "green goods," using the county's money for that purpose, and that for every dollar he let the confidence men have he was to receive ten dollars in counterfeit. However this may

[55] Judge J. B. Chrisman.
[56] Mr. H. M. Buckley.

be, the money was used while he was Treasurer, and he was tried in the Circuit Court of the county with Judge J. B. Chrisman as Prosecuting Attorney. The people in the county were indignant, though some were inclined to be lenient with the defaulter. Mr. Fortenberry tried to compromise the case, asking the Board of Supervisors to dismiss it upon his refunding the money. Some were willing to do this, but a majority refused to compromise. John S. Neal was one of the chief men who refused to compromise, pushing the prosecution of the case with unrelenting zeal until the defaulter was convicted. The plea of the defense in the trial was that, although duly elected, the Treasurer had never taken the oath of office and, therefore, was not Treasurer *de jure* but Treasurer *de facto*.[57] In the County Circuit Court the case was decided in favor of the county and an appeal was made to the Supreme Court. The verdict was affirmed, the opinion of the court as rendered by Judge Campbell being that, inasmuch as he had held the office and assumed the responsibilities thereof, Mr. Fortenberry was liable to punishment for the embezzlement, and that his failure to take the oath of office did not exempt him from liability for official misconduct. The fact that an officer could take up the duties of such a responsible position as that of Treasurer without qualifying by taking the oath of office indicates that the government of the county was loosely managed. Mr. Fortenberry was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. At the end of about one year he was pardoned upon the payment by the bondsmen of the sum of $1,000, the amount fixed by the Board of Supervisors.[58]

Political Campaigns and Elections.

Throughout the period of reconstruction in Lawrence County the chief interest of the people was centered in the elections, both State and county. It was a continuous struggle between the Democrats and Republican parties for supremacy. The time between elections was spent in marshaling the forces of the

[57] *Mississippi Reports*, 286.
[58] This information was obtained from a reliable citizen of the county.

parties and drilling them for the next political fray, and by election time the excitement had reached its height.

To secure the negro vote was the aim of each party. In this the Republican party had the advantage, since its leaders had access to the secret meetings of the negroes. Just before the election of State officers, the Republican leaders would organize among the negroes clubs named for the Republican candidate for Governor, as the Alcorn Campaign Club, etc.[59] Through these political clubs and the Loyal League, which will be considered later in this study, the Republican party held the negro vote. The leaders attended the meetings of the clubs and instructed the negroes fully on all political questions and especially as to how they should vote at the next election. Both parties made use of torchlight processions in the campaigns, and the winning party always celebrated its victory in the same way.

The Democrats were always working in the dark. They could only try persuasion and bribery with occasional barbecues. Many negro votes were seemingly bought with a plug of tobacco, a pair of shoes, a piece of meat or some other article equally acceptable to the negro, but when the returns of the election had been counted the Democrats found that they had lost both the vote of the negro and the bribe paid for the vote. Whenever a negro was asked by a Democrat to vote the Democratic ticket, he would promise to do so, receive the ticket given him by the zealous Democrat and deposit it in his pocket. One special pocket was always reserved, however, for the Republican ticket, and this ticket was the one he deposited in the poll box. Sometimes his pockets would be filled with Democratic tickets which he had promised to vote without having any intention whatever of doing so.[60] In 1870 the Democrats made a heroic effort to carry the county. They organized and drilled and canvassed. Nearly all the Democrats had been disfranchised and were not even allowed to go to the polls. Old slaveholders took the stump and all the negroes of influence that could be obtained

[59] Henry Mason (colored).

[60] These facts were obtained from Dr. J. W. Bennett, of Brookhaven, and Mr. Bob Leonard, of Arm.

were hired to speak for the party throughout the county. Big barbecues were given. The negroes attended, praised the Democratic speakers and pledged their votes to the Democratic party. The Democrats were elated and joyously anticipated an easy victory at the polls. When the election was over and the returns had been counted it was found that the Republicans had won by an overwhelming majority. The joke was too good for them to keep, and it was soon learned by the crestfallen Democrats that the negroes had been trained by the Republicans throughout the canvass to deceive the Democrats. Needless to say, the Democrats were not only disappointed but enraged, and the carpetbaggers finding things rather warm in Lawrence and seeing a more inviting field for them in the newly formed county of Lincoln, did not tarry long on the scene of their conquest.[61]

The Democrats did not make another strenuous effort to regain control of the county until in 1875. At that time, under the leadership of General George, they organized for the purpose of overthrowing Republican rule throughout the State. There was little done in this county, however, that would distinguish it from other counties of the State at this time. The Democrats organized and met once a week just before election. At these meetings they would shoot pistols and anvils. At the time of the election they marched around the polling places in torchlight procession, each member of the procession bearing a blazing lightwood torch. At these rally meetings they would stay out as late as 9 or 10 o'clock at night. The day before election the people had a general shooting of anvils and pistols, and the negroes became so much frightened that many of them did not even go to the polls to vote. Henry Mason, the prominent leader of the Republican party among the negroes, was president of the Board of Registration, and at this election sold the votes of such negroes as did go to the election to the Democrats. The Democrats paid him $75 or $80 a day for this.[62]

There were only a few joint political debates in the county, and all of them were held at Monticello. In 1869 Governor

[61] Judge J. B. Chrisman.
[62] John Allen (colored).

Alcorn and Colonel Stockdale[63] met in a joint discussion. The Republican leaders made this a grand occasion for the negroes.[64] A big barbecue was given. Just before dinner the negroes formed into a long procession and marched in double file around the courthouse to the music of fifes and drums and passed under a cross formed of blue cloth, bowing as they walked from under the cross. This was the thing that appealed to them and with the barbecue dinner that followed they were completely won to the Republican cause. Governor Alcorn began speaking about 12 o'clock and spoke until three in the afternoon. When Colonel Stockdale asked for an opportunity to speak, Governor Alcorn kindly agreed to let him speak after he himself had finished, provided he could get an audience. When Governor Alcorn finished the negroes were tired and would not stay to hear Colonel Stockdale. At 8 o'clock that night they spoke in the courthouse, each speaking an hour. Colonel Stockdale accused Governor Alcorn of misleading the negroes. Governor Alcorn admitted in reply that he was leading the negroes and said further that it was "necessary for every white man to lead him and make him depend upon himself."[65] In discussing the law that had been made denying to negroes the right to own property, he said that a negro might as well be in hell without claws as to be here and not own property to support himself. According to the opinion of one of the negroes present at this discussion, Governor Alcorn "used up Colonel Stockdale very much."[66]

From a Republican announcement found among the private papers of Dr. John Gartman, it has been found that Major E. Castello, Hon. W. H. Gibbs, Rev. H. R. Revels, Capt. O. C.

[63] Hon. T. R. Stockdale was born in Greene County, Pennsylvania, in 1828. In 1856 he came to Mississippi. In 1858 he entered the University of Mississippi and graduated in the law department of that institution at the end of one year. He served in the Confederate Army with the rank of colonel. At the end of the war he resumed the practice of law. He was a strong Democrat and held the esteem and confidence of his party. In 1886, 1888 and 1890 he was elected to represent his district in Congress. (Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi,* II, 840-843.)

[64] These facts were obtained from Dr. G. A. Teunisson, Sandy Cohea (colored) and Henry Mason (colored).

[65] Henry Mason (colored).

[66] Ibid.

French, Col. E. Stafford and E. G. Peyton were scheduled to speak in behalf of Col. L. W. Perce, the Republican candidate for Congress from the Fifth District, at a number of places in November, 1869. Among these places was Monticello, the date being Tuesday, November 23d. It is not known whether this appointment was filled. Col. H. D. Money and other political leaders also spoke at Monticello.[67]

The only newspaper controversy over Lawrence County affairs of which any knowledge has been obtained by the writer was one that occurred in *The Brookhaven Citizen* between Chris Eivers, of Lawrence County, and J. M. Buckley, of Lincoln County. The point at issue cannot be learned. Chris Eivers tried to find from Mr. Magee, the editor of the paper, the author of the articles written in answer to his, and when Mr. Magee refused to disclose the name Mr. Eivers challenged him to a duel, which Mr. Magee accepted, but Mr. Eivers never put in his appearance at the time and place appointed.[68]

Each party got out its own tickets. In 1867 those of the Democrats were yellow and of the Republicans white. The Democrats endeavored to carry the election in that year by pasting the tickets together and deceiving the negro into voting a "plastered ticket." This was one of the frauds perpetrated at the elections held in the county. The Republican ticket later had a red mark with two lines across with "either an eagle or a red flag on it."[69] This was done in order that the negroes who were not able to read might know the Republican ticket.

To the negroes the privilege of voting was a new one. They gathered into the towns of Monticello and Brookhaven in crowds two or three days before the election, in order to be sure to be there in time to vote.[70] One negro, who had walked forty-four miles to Brookhaven, found when he got there that he had brought the wrong paper with him and that in order to be able to vote he would have to present the registration paper he had left at

[67] Dr. G. A. Teunisson.
[68] This information was obtained from a reliable party.
[69] Dr. G. A. Teunisson and Henry Mason (colored).
[70] Dr. J. W. Bennett, of Brookhaven.

home. He promptly set out for home and walked the eighty-eight miles, getting back in time to vote.[71]

The Board of Supervisors appointed the managers of the elections. As the board in Lawrence County was usually made up of upright men, and as nearly all the white Republican leaders were either officers or candidates for office, the board usually appointed two negroes and one Democrat to serve as managers of elections. The two clerks were also Democrats. The Democratic manager's duty was to receive the tickets and deposit them in the box. The negroes were formed into processions sometimes a hundred yards long and marched in double file to the polls in military style.[72] If a Republican ticket had not already been given to each negro, one was handed him by a Republican stationed for that purpose. When the negro reached the polls he felt in the pocket where his Republican ticket was deposited and handed it to the manager, whose duty it was to receive the same. Just at this point, in order to draw the attention of those standing around away from the ticket, the Democratic clerk failed to find the name of the negro in question on the registration book. By the time the name had been found the Republican ticket had been changed for a Democratic one and thus the negro was made unwittingly and unwillingly to vote a Democratic ticket. The Democratic manager usually kept a box of Democratic tickets nearby and, just before the negro reached the polls, put one in his left hand under the table ready for exchange as soon as the opportunity presented itself.[73]

Other ways of "stuffing the ballot box" were worked before or during the time the votes were counted. Sometimes the Republican tickets were chewed up and Democratic tickets substituted for the ones thus disposed of. At one time the report came from one of the polls that "a mule had eaten up the ballot box."[74]

Sometimes the Democrats would take their guns with them to

[71] Mr. Alfred McGuffie, of Monticello.
[72] Dr. J. D. Boozer, of Arm, and Dr. J. W. Bennett, of Brookhaven.
[73] Mr. W. W. Williams.
[74] Dr. G. A. Teunisson and Mr. Bob Leonard.

the election as if on a squirrel hunt and shoot at random around the polls until the negroes would become frightened and leave.[75]

It is told that Bright Buckley (colored) was running for Supervisor for Beat Five. When the returns from the election precincts were coming in he was at Monticello, anxious to learn his fate. Some of the boys found this out and frightened him so that he left town to keep from being whipped.[76]

The Freedman's Bureau.

This important ally of the Republican party in Lawrence County had its headquarters at Brookhaven. Col. W. H. Eldridge, whose nickname was "Hunkydory," was at its head. This bureau issued rations to negroes who were without work. It also kept a list of the farmers who wanted laborers.[77]

The Freedman's Bureau came in with the Federal troops and the first thing it did was to send notices, through its officers to the owners of slaves, that the slaves should be freed. The negroes at once, upon hearing that they were to receive "forty acres of land and a mule," flocked to Brookhaven. When they found that this was a false report, the plea was put up by them that their former masters had driven them away from home. This was done in order to obtain food and shelter from the bureau, but when the bureau found that the negroes had run away of their own accord, they were put to work on the streets of Brookhaven and elsewhere.[78] An amusing incident is told in this connection by Dr. E. A. Rowan, of Wesson. A negro stuck a thorn in his foot and sent for Dr. Rowan. In order to make the negro suffer as little as possible, while he cut the thorn out, Dr. Rowan put him under the influence of chloroform. While under the influence of the anæsthetic the negro talked incessantly of "forty acres of land and a mule."

All so-called cases of mistreatment of the negroes by the white

[75] Mr. Bob Leonard.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Mr. Ike Cope, of Brookhaven.

[78] Wood's "Reconstruction in Lincoln County" (Manuscript).

people were reported to this bureau and punished by the same. Two or three white men who were reported were hung up by the thumbs as punishment.[79] If negro servants did wrong and a white member of the house lost control of his or her temper and said anything to them, this was reported to the bureau and the alleged offender was carried before that tribunal and tried therefor, usually being fined five or ten dollars. Mr. Phil Garrett was carried from Monticello before the Freedman's Bureau and several white ladies also from the same place. Mr. Will Weathersby ran a colored woman off his place and the Freedman's Bureau made him allow her to return.[80]

In time the bureau became afraid to do anything and was finally disbanded. A negro somewhere in the county was killed for stealing hogs. The hog was put across his back and word sent to the Freedman's Bureau that the hog had killed him. The Captain, who was sent to investigate the affair, moved the negro with his foot and ordered that he be buried.[81]

Mr. J. J. Boswell was reported to the bureau for mistreating a negro on his place. He escaped punishment by "treating" the officers of the bureau.

Loyal Leagues.

The Loyal League was a secret organization among the negroes during the reconstruction period. It was organized by the scalaways and carpetbaggers as an organ of the Republican party to secure the negro votes. The purpose of the club was to instruct the negroes in regard to voting and train them in Republican principles. There seems to have been at least one Loyal League in each beat in Lawrence County, though definite knowledge of its existence in other than Beats One and Five has not been obtained. There were two such leagues in Beat One, which embraced Monticello, one of them being on each side of Pearl River. Only one existed in Beat Five. The officers of the club were

[79] Statements made to the writer by Dr. J. D. Boozer and Mr. Bob Leonard.
[80] Joe Weathersby (colored).
[81] Mr. Bob Leonard.

President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Watchman.[82] These officers, according to the statement of one old negro, were elected every four years.[83] The charter of the organization was given by the Governor of the State. When the members were initiated, they took an oath of secrecy, agreeing not to disclose anything that took place in the club until after the next election.

The club met regularly twice a month. The places of meeting varied. The club at Monticello sometimes met in the town and sometimes on Fair River or in Dr. Gartman's "quarter" in Turner's Bend. If any trouble was expected the Sergeant stood guard at the door with his gun ready to give the signal to those on the inside. Only the members of the club were admitted to the meeting, with the exception of the white Republicans who met with them.

The leading Republicans who visited the meetings of the Loyal League were: John D. Moore and Frank A. Clover (carpet-baggers) and Burke Waddell, Dr. J. D. Boozer, John Jolly, Capt. R. O. Byrne, M. M. Fortenberry, Chris Eivers and others. These men seem to have directed the affairs of the club and organized the negroes into a solid Republican unity. In the words of one old negro, they "'structed 'em to stick together and vote for 'Publicans." Another one said that they "'structed 'em not to build up no malice 'twixt white and black and to vote the 'Publican ticket." Another purpose of the club, given by one of the Loyal League leaders, was to put negroes on the jury, and this they succeeded in doing.

The order of the meetings varied. They always had Bible-reading and prayer, however. Some of the meetings were devoted to business and some to a general good time. Regular

[82] The officers of the Loyal Leagues in Monticello were: John Allen, president; Henry Baggett, vice-president. The second set of officers: Jim Goode, president; Leroy Sutton, vice-president, and Tony Lewis, watchman. The first officers in the club in Beat 5 were: Ben Lee, president; Carroll Barnes, sargent; Ike Williams, clerk, and Tony Lewis, treasurer. The second set of officers were: Carroll Barnes, president; Ben Lee, vice-president; Ben Moore, sargent; Jesse Lee, clerk, and Walter Moore, treasurer. The leaders in the club across the river were Higdon Whitfield and Morris Brown.

[83] This information was obtained from Sandy Cohea.

business meetings were held every fall and spring. In these business meetings agreements were reached as to what candidates should be put out in the next race on the Republican ticket. Collections were taken once a month, each one giving what he chose. The usual amount given by each person was ten cents. The money thus collected was used in sending delegates to other meetings of the Loyal League in different parts of the State. The only State meetings mentioned by informants were those of Brookhaven and Jackson. They seem to have been held about once every two months. It would seem from this that the Republicans had this party organ among the negroes in thorough working order throughout the State and perhaps held county, district, and State conventions.

The password of the club was:

"Well, friend."
"Well, what are you gwine to do?"
"I 'spose you're as good as your word."
"Yes."

The word of recognition at the door was "one." They had white flags on which were a star or two.

Before and after the meetings they would usually serenade the town or community with beating drums. In 1867 they drilled regularly about once a month.

Two of their number, Hamp Bozeman and Mike Mullens, told club secrets to the Democrats and the club expelled them. They appealed to a white citizen, who told them that even if the club killed them nothing could be done about it.

One member of this club said that they built schoolhouses and churches and that they resolved to live on bread and water in order to educate their children.[84]

The Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan had three dens in this county, one at or near each of the following places: Brookhaven, Monticello and

[84] The information about the Loyal League was obtained from the following colored citizens of the county: John Allen, Sandy Cohea, Joe Weathersby, Henry Bridges and Jim Goode.

Hebron. When Lincoln County was formed this left only two dens in the county. The den at Brookhaven was organized first and its captain, S. W. Younkin, later went to Monticello and organized a den at that place. It is not known when or by whom the den near Hebron was organized.[85] The den at Brookhaven was composed of about fifty or sixty men, which number included nearly all the Democrats in the town and the neighboring community. This den operated for the most part in what is now Lincoln County. The one at Monticello operated for several miles around the town and was made up of men from twenty to thirty years of age. Its leader is now a prominent lawyer in the State. The Hebron klan operated in the northern section of the county and was composed of men living in both Lawrence and Simpson Counties. Mr. F. L. Riley was at one time Captain of this klan and was succeeded by a prominent citizen of tne county now living at Silver Creek.[86]

As everywhere throughout the South, the klan was organized for the purpose of protecting the citizens of the county until they could again get the reins of government in their hands. The membership of the Ku Klux was composed of some of the best citizens and property-holders of the county.

The dress of the Ku Klux consisted of a long white robe with a black cross on the front and back and a white cap which came to a point. To express it in the words of an old darkey, they looked "some 'n lack a dunce cap, yes'm, lack a dunce cap, you know." Their faces were covered, leaving places for eyes, nose and mouth. The real name of this organization was not Ku Klux at all, but "Knights of the Black Cross." To the uninitiated they were known as Ku Klux, but if arraigned in court for being a member of the Ku Klux Klan, they could truthfully swear that they were not members of such an organization. Members were initiated, blindfolded, and a terrible oath was administered to them.[87]

---

[85] Mr. Bob Leonard.
[86] Dr. Franklin L. Riley.
[87] Mr. Bob Leonard.

The password of the Monticello klan was:

"That you, Sam?"
"No, it's Jim." [88]

The sign was right hand raised to the shoulder and left arm placed across the breast and hand under arm. The Hebron password was:

"Is that you, Joe?"
"No, it's Nemo." [89]

As Lawrence County suffered little in comparison with other counties from vicious carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes, the Ku Klux were not kept very busy. Only one arrest for "Ku Kluxing" was ever made in this county. A few suspected members of the Hebron den were arrested, carried to Brookhaven and tried for whipping a negro named Bill Dotson who had committed an unmentionable crime. The negro could not prove anything, and they were finally liberated without being punished. These men were Messrs. Ben Gray, Monroe Shows, Ben Buckley and a certain blacksmith whose sworn testimony, though false, was very effective in securing their release.[90] Reports of other whippings of negroes by this den and others have been received, but nothing definite can be ascertained. Otherwise the operations of the klan seem to have consisted in parading the public highways in spectral array at the dead hours of the night and paying occasional nocturnal visits to their colored friends in order to quench their usual insatiable thirst. The Hebron den met in the public road usually and stationed pickets at each end of the line. It was their policy never to catch a negro unless they intended to whip him. If they wished merely to frighten, they accomplished their purpose by rattling chains.[91]

An amusing incident of one of the nocturnal rides of the Monticello den was told by the two old darkies at that place who wit-

[88] Ibid.
[89] This fact was obtained by Dr. Franklin L. Riley from his father, who was a prominent member of that den.
[90] Dr. Franklin L. Riley, Mr. Sutton and others.
[91] Dr. Franklin L. Riley.

nessed it at a respectful distance. A crowd of young negroes were having a frolic about half a mile from town one night when a crowd of whiterobed figures on horseback suddenly appeared in front of the house where the frolic was going on. The negro boys came out and followed the procession within a short distance of the courthouse. Here they were commanded by one of the ghostly figures to turn back, as it would be dangerous to follow farther. The klan went in the courthouse and laid aside their disguises. When they came out of the courthouse, Mr. Isaiah Gwinn was sitting on the steps of a building at the corner of a street and one of the Ku Klux, thinking he was one of the negro boys who had followed them, struck him over the head with a stick. This angered Mr. Gwinn and a fight would have ensued if Capt. Sylvester Gwinn, who was sent for, had not been able to make peace.[92]

Educational System.

The school system for whites as well as blacks was very poor during this chaotic period. Chris Eivers and R. O. Byrne were two of the county Superintendents of Education. Negro schools were taught at the beginning of this period by the following white citizens of the county: Capt. R. O. Byrne and his son Pete Byrne, E. O. Cowart and Chris Eivers. A white girl, Miss Lenore, was forced by her father, Sidney Lenore, to teach two terms of a negro school on the outskirts of the town of Monticello.[93] A mulatto woman named Hattie Jackson also taught negro schools.[94] The white people who taught negro schools in the county fell into such disrepute with the people that they finally quit. Then some Northern people of questionable character came into the county and taught negro schools until the overthrow of Republican rule.[95]

The schoolhouses were very poorly built and equipped for both whites and blacks.

---

[92] Joe Weathersby (colored) and Sandy Cohea (colored).
[93] Mrs. A. C. Fairman, of Monticello.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Mr. W. W. Williams.

Two white women from the North taught negro schools in Brookhaven from 1868 to 1870. According to one report, these women received $75 a month from the county; and in addition to this each child had to carry twenty-five cents to school every Monday morning. If the children could not get the money they would steal a chicken and carry it. These women taught the children during the day and the grown men at night. It is said that there were so many children that they could not get around to all of them oftener than once every week or two.[96] Another report is that these women were missionaries sent by some Northern mission board and that they received no money at all from the county in pay for their service as teachers. They taught day and night and conducted Sunday schools at which "they used little books somewhat like a first reader." In these were lessons with moral teachings. They lived in neat but inexpensive apartments, alone. They were good, respectable women and did much good.[97] Whether or not the women referred to in these conflicting reports are one and the same and, if so, which report is true, we cannot say.

Economic Conditions.

On the whole, the labor system in this county seems to have been as good as could be expected for such an unsettled period. A number of the negroes continued to work for their old masters, either as tenants or as hands paid by the month or day. The day hands received fifty cents a day and meals. The tenants received one-half of the crop if they furnished all their tools, horses, etc. On the other hand, if the owner of the land furnished everything necessary for tilling the land, the tenant received at the end of the year one-third of all the corn and one-fourth of all the cotton raised by him. Burke Waddell advised the negroes to get off the white man's land and move to places of their own, even if they had nothing but a piece of meat the size of an inkstand and a peck of meal.[98] Those who hired by the month were paid $10 a month and their meals.

[96] Mr. Alfred McGuffie.
[97] Dr. J. W. Bennett.
[98] Henry Mason (colored).

Dr. J. W. Bennett, of Brookhaven, says that only eighteen out of every fifty negroes would work and that those who rented land always came out in debt to the owner of the land more than the farmer's share of the crop was worth. One citizen made the statement that the system was corrupt, the people decoying hands from one another.[99] Putting together all the facts that could be obtained from the different citizens, it seems that the labor system was not much worse then than it is at the present time.

Prices were very high. Pickled pork sold for $45 a barrel, meal for $1.45 a bushel and meat for 25 to 35 cents a pound.[100] Flour sold for $9 and $10 a barrel and calico for 18 cents a yard.[101]

[99] Dr. J. D. Boozer.
[100] Mr. J. J. Boswell, of Verna.
[101] Mrs. Ava Parnell, of Wesson.

APPENDIX A.

(Statistical Information about Lawrence County.)

Population.

1860			1870		1880		
Whites	Blacks		Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Indians
	Free	Slaves					
5,513	4	3,696	3,678	3,042	4,937	4,473	10

Land Taxable.

1866			1870		
Acres	Value	State Tax	Acres	Value	State Tax
360,342	$955,642½	$955,642½	188,121	$415,003	$2,075 73

1871			1875		
Acres	Value	State Tax	Acres	Value	State Tax
207,783⅜	$391,637¾	1,566 63	223,279⅓	$360,925¼	2,903 01

Personal Property Taxable.

1866		1867		1872	
Amount	State Tax	Amount	State Tax	Amount	State Tax
$449,027	$2,503 65	$809,598 75	$8,771 97½	$367,885 10	$3,117 17

Acres of Land Sold for Taxes.

1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
720	2,840	9,480	12,240	280	28,002	16,280	920	.....	6,995

Rate of County Taxation.

1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
150% State Tax	300% State Tax	200% State Tax	200% State Tax	2 mills	15 mills	8 mills	11½ mills	12½ mills	7 mills	10¾ mills

COUNTY OFFICERS.

1865, Democrats.

Board of Police:
Hezekiah Summers, president
G. A. Bilbo
Samuel Hickman
J. M. Butler
William W. Deen
Clerk, J. N. Cowart
Sheriff, A. O. Cox
Treasurer, Norvel Robertson
Assessor, L. C. Maxwell
Probate, Judge W. P. Baggett

1866 and 1867, Democrats.

Board of Police:
H. H. Dale, president
H. Summers
W. W. Deen
Samuel Hickman
G. A. Bilbo
Clerk, J. N. Cowart
Sheriff, A. O. Cox
Treasurer, Norvel Robertson
Assessor, L. C. Maxwell.

1868, Democrats.

Board of Police:
John Newsom, president
H. Summers
G. A. Bilbo
A. A. Shepard
Samuel Hickman
Clerk, J. N. Cowart
Sheriff, A. O. Cox
Treasurer, Norvel Robertson
Assessor, L. C. Maxwell.

1869 and 1870, Republicans.

Board of Police:
J. F. Cannon, president
James Hall
Isaac Williams
Noel S. Buckley
C. E. Eivers
Clerk, F. A. Clover
Sheriff, John D. Moore
Judge Probate, Wm. Vannerson
Treasurer, John Gartman
Representative, George Charles
Assessor, Miles H. King.

1871.

Board of Supervisors:
Isaac Williams, president
Noel S. Buckley
Reuben Fields (colored)
C. N. Floyd
J. D. Boozer
Clerk, Wm. Vannerson
Sheriff, E. B. Waddell
Treasurer, John Jolly
Assessor, A. L. Lenoir.

1872, Democrats and Republicans.

Board of Supervisors:

Milton Griffith, president,	Dem.
Isaiah Smith,	Dem.
S. E. Parkman,	Dem.
Morris Brown (colored),	Rep.
James E. Keegan,	Dem.
Clerk, Morris P. Block,	Dem.
Sheriff, W. H. Butler,	Dem.
Deputy Sheriff, J. R. Cox,	Dem.
Treasurer, Wm. Robertson,	Dem.
Representative, Simeon Ross,	Dem.
Assessor, A. H. Benton,	Dem.

1873, Democrats and Republicans.

Board of Supervisors:

Milton Griffith, president,	Dem.
Isaiah Smith,	Dem.
S. E. Parkman,	Dem.
Morris Brown (colored),	Rep.
Zachariah Nelson,	Rep.

1874 and 1875.

Board of Supervisors:

S. E. Parkman, president,	Dem.
John S. Neal,	Dem.
Isaiah Smith,	Dem.
Gideon Kyle,	Rep.
Pason Smith (colored),	Rep.

1873—Continued.

Clerk, John H. Keegan,	Dem.
Sheriff, W. H. Butler,	Dem.
Dep. Sheriff, H. Weathersby.	Dem.
Treasurer, Wm. Robertson,	Dem.
Representative, Simeon Ross,	Dem.
Assessor, A. H. Benton,	Dem.

1874 and 1875—Continued.

Clerk, E. B. Waddell,	Rep.
Sheriff, W. H. Butler,	Dem.
Representative, E. O. Cowart,	Rep.
Treasurer, M. M. Fortenberry,	Rep.
Assessor, E. M. Pepper,	Rep.

1876, Democrats.

Board of Supervisors:

John S. Neal, president
S. E. Parkman
A. J. Neal
N. A. Garrett
Isaiah Smith

Clerk, A. H. Longino
Sheriff, W. H. Butler
Treasurer, Reuben Beal
Representative, H. J. Byrd
Assessor, John Ross.

Registration of Voters, White and Black.

Total Report to Revision of 1869.		Revision of 1869.		Total Vote for Constitution.	
White	Colored	White	Colored	For	Against
1,177	908	1,360	1,090	1,619	3

Vote for State Officers in the Election of 1869.

Governor:		Lieut.-Governor:		Sec'y of State.	
Alcorn	957	B. C. Powers	940	James Lynch	938
Dent	665	E. Jeffords	675	Thos. Sinclair	636
Treasurer:		**Auditor:**		**Attorney-General:**	
W. H. Vasser	942	Henry Musgrove,	942	J. W. Morris	938
J. McCloy	675	A. W. Wills	675	Robt. Lowrey	680
Supt. Education:		**State Senator:**		**Congressman:**	
Henry Peas	939	John Gartman	947	Perce	939
Thos. Gathwright,	679	Thos. R. Stockdale	674	Broun	678

Representative:

George Charles..... 933 Hiram Cassady, Jr..... 686

APPENDIX B.

(Census Statistics of Lawrence County, 1860-1880.)

TABLE I. POPULATION STATISTICS OF LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	WHITE			NEGRO					MALES TWENTY YEARS AND OVER			Total Male Citizens Twenty-One Years and Over
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total White	Free	Slaves	Total	Indians	Total Population	White	Free	Slaves	
1860....	5,382	131	5,513	4	3,696	3,700	.....	9,213	1,232	1	740	.....
1870....	3,657	21	3,678	3,042	.....	3,042	.....	6,720	.....	.....	.....	1,243
1880....	4,925	12	4,937	4,473	.....	4,473	10	9,420	.....	.....	.....	1,791

TABLE II. OWNERS OF SLAVES AND NUMBER OWNED IN LAWRENCE COUNTY IN 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	Total Number of Slaveholders	Total Number of Slaves
77	51	52	53	24	24	13	21	27	58	33	21	6	4	5	1	450	3,696

TABLE III. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	FARMS			
	Improved Lands—Acres	Unimproved Lands—Acres	Number of Farms	Total Value of Farms
1860.....	53.352	205,428	645	$1,286,135
1870.....	32,539	107,222	560	352,156
1880...	49,337	326,294	1,256	645,170

	STAPLE PRODUCTS							
	Total Value of Farm Products	Indian Corn—Bushels	Oats—Bushels	Rice—Pounds	Potatoes—Sweet—Bushels	Potatoes—Irish—Bushels	Molasses—Gallons	Cotton—Bales
1860..	.....	281,213	290	206	52,272	1,670	.....	.....
1870.....	$460,186	140,917	3,040	125,806	21,869	213	6,813	2,782
1880.	514,076	217,041	41,809	136,468	89,679	2,642	47,000	5,967

	METHOD OF CULTIVATION			LIVE STOCK PRODUCTS		Value of Live Stock
	By Owner	Rented for Fixed Money Rentals	Shares of Products	Butter—Pounds	Wool—Pounds	
1860 ...	....	.....	.....	26,327	11,585	478,497
1870....	.....	.....	.....	15,731	6,602	246,096
1880 ...	906	94	256	48,487	11,771	291,756

TABLE IV. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Number of Hands	Annual Cost of Labor	Value of Products—Annual
1860....	22	$35,700	$ 3,900	45	$9,180	$66,560
1870 ...	11	9,400	7,793	17	770	15,385
1880....	14	17,300	19,359	15	1,340	25,270

TABLE V. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860.

		Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Number of Hands	Wages	Value of Products
1860...	Flour and Meal...	8	$ 6,900	$17,400	9	$1,800	$20,760
	Leather..... ..	3	7,000	6,250	8	3,120	13,000
	Lumber- Sawed..	11	21,800	15,350	28	4,260	32,800
1870[1]....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880[2]....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] All industries with a gross production of less than $10,000, except "neighborhood industries" producing as much as $2,500 or more, were omitted in 1870.

[2] All counties having a gross production less than $100,000 annually, and all industries producing less than $20,000, were omitted in 1880.

TABLE VI. VALUATION OF PROPERTY, TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS OF LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Assessed Valuation.			Taxation				Public Debts
	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total Value	State	County	Town	Total	
1860..	$1,835,565	$4,546,914	$6,832,479	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870.	380,664	416,302	796,966	$5,980	$11,955	$1,000	$18,935	.....
1880..	387,545	224,657	612,202	3,273	6,572	.....	9,845	.....

TABLE VII. WHITE AND NEGRO ILLITERACY IN LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1870.

	Attended School.							Cannot Read	Cannot Write													
				White		Colored						White						Colored					
												10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over		10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over	
	Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female	Ten Years and Over	Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1870	547	547	....	257	225	29	36	2,224	2,624	2,622	2	132	100	29	10	135	33	218	170	174	209	527	569

TABLE VIII. CHURCH STATISTICS FOR LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1860-1870.

	Baptist			Methodist		
	Number of Churches	Value of Church Property	Accommodations	Number of Churches	Value of Church Property	Accommodations
1860	14	$10,000	5,600	6	$6,000	2,400
1870	20	.....	6,000	16	.....	4,200

TABLE IX. NATIVITIES OF FOREIGNERS IN LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1870-1880.

	Total	England and Wales	Ireland	Germany	Africa
1870	21	2	5	11	1
1880	9	2	5	2	.....

RECONSTRUCTION IN NEWTON COUNTY.

By Ruth Watkins.[1]

Newton County was formed from the southern part of Neshoba County by an act of the Legislature, February 26, 1836. This county originally belonged to the Choctaw cession. It is one of the State's square counties, having twenty-four miles for each of its dimensions. The county was named for the great scientist and philosopher, Sir Isaac Newton. It is situated in the eastern portion of the State, and is bounded by Neshoba, Scott, Jasper and Lauderdale Counties. There are no large towns within its borders. Decatur, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county on the Mobile, Jackson and Kansas City Railroad; Newton, the largest town, is in the southern part, and is the junction of the Alabama and Vicksburg and the Mobile, Jackson and Kansas City Railroads. The former of these roads crosses the county from east to west, and the latter from north to south, but the latter road was not built until 1905. Other towns and villages of the county are, Hickory, Union, Stratton, Lawrence, Chuncky and Connehatta. Newton County has no large streams, nothing more than creeks, except Chuncky, a

[1] This contribution is the result of seminary work in the Department of History in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1909-'10.

Miss Ruth Watkins, daughter of Marcet Ruffin Watkins and Lorena Elizabeth Walker, was born in Newton County, Mississippi. She was graduated from the University of Mississippi with the B. A. degree in the year 1910, ranking second in her class.

Her maternal ancestor, Joseph Walker, was born in Tennessee in 1777. Her grandfather, Charles K. Walker, was born in the same State in 1809, and married Lorena Galloway, of Alabama. His son, James Franklin Walker, was born in Dallas County, Alabama, in 1833, and married Elizabeth Mayes Steadman, daughter of John Steadman and Ruth Mayes. Lorena Elizabeth Walker, daughter of James Franklin Walker, was born in Alabama in 1857.

The paternal grandfather of Ruth Watkins, Josiah Watkins, was born in Powhatan County, Virginia, in 1803, and married Mildred Whitlock Baker Watkins, daughter of Thomas and Mary Watkins, of Charlotte County, Virginia. Marcet Ruffin Watkins, son of Josiah Watkins, was born in 1836.—Editor.

small river, rising in the northern part and flowing southeast and uniting with the Oktibbeha, in Clarke County, to form the Chickasahay. Other streams in Newton County noted for their beautiful Indian names are, Tallahatta, Talasha, Pottochitto, Tallahalla, Bogue Philema and Connehatta.

The soil of this county is very fertile and diversified, having ridge lands, prairies and reed-brakes on its limited area. The reed-brakes are unusually productive. Besides agriculture, the county is especially adapted for cattle raising, since the prairies in the southern part furnish abundant pasturage and are well supplied with water. There are found in the county numerous kinds of oaks, the ash, elm, beech, walnut, black and sweet gum, magnolia, hickory, chestnut, and the short and long-leaf pine, the latter of which makes good lumber. Large amounts of pine timber have been manufactured by the stream saw-mills, but there is still much land on which good milling timber is left. The chief products of the county are cotton, corn, oats, rye, potatoes, cane, rice, fruits, berries of all kinds and vegetables.

The population was originally composed of settlers from Alabama and Georgia, together with a foreign element, mostly Irish. The Irish settlers came at the time of the famine in their native country in the forties, and so separate and distinct was their community in the eastern portion of the county, that it was known as "New Ireland." Among their families were the Vances, Frenches, Hogans and Davidsons. These people were, and are now, generally Protestants, belonging to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. They were men who made good livings and were very independent. In the other parts of the county, the most prominent first settlers were the Reynolds, McMullens, Smiths, Jones, Wards, Blakeleys, Walkers, Gibsons, Chapmans, Blelacks, Clarks, Scanlans and McAlpins.[2]

In 1860 the population of the county numbered 9,661, one-third of which were negroes.[3] The negroes were scattered over the county to some extent, but there was a larger proportion in

[2] This information was obtained from a *History of Newton County* (pp. 338-340), by A. J. Brown, a lifelong resident of the county.

[3] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, 224.

the prairie district in the southern part, as this was most largely cultivated.[4] The largest number of slaves owned by any one man before the War of Secession was about forty-five or fifty, but a great number of people did not own any.[5] Willis Norman and W. H. Harris each owned fifty slaves.[6]

The people were very loyal and patriotic, and evinced their devotion to the Confederacy by sending 1,560 men to the front in the War of Secession, and this was practically every man of military age in the county.

The county was greatly devastated during the war by the raids which were made through it. Grierson, with his cavalry, passed through it from north to south, taking all the horses, mules and provisions that he could find, and leaving waste and destruction behind him. At the town of Newton he burned the depot and several stores, as well as one of the hospital buildings.[7] Sherman, in his raids, passed through the county from west to east, and then back a little north of his first trail. He burned practically the whole of Decatur, the county seat, and helped himself liberally to fresh supplies of horses and provisions, and destroyed what he could not use.

No battle took place within the limits of the county. But there was a slight skirmish at Decatur between Sherman and a small body of Confederates, and in the northern part of the county between Sherman and a Confederate force under Captain Rayburn. It would be impossible to estimate the loss sustained by the county from these raids. Later, Ross's Texas Brigade of Confederates passed through the county, and they, too, had to be supplied as they went. Thus, when the war was over and the soldiers from Newton County returned to their homes, they found nothing but destruction, poverty and want, and to recover their former firm footing meant a struggle harder than that through which they had just passed.[8]

---

[4] This information was given by the late M. R. Watkins, of Newton.
[5] This statement was made by T. M. Scanlan, of Newton.
[6] T. M. Kennedy. See Appendix, Table VI.
[7] There were seven of these buildings in which over 1,000 Confederate soldiers were cared for. Of this number only one hundred died. They were buried in a cemetery about a mile from the town.
[8] Brown's *History of Newton County,* 115-120.

Government.

All of the records of the county were destroyed by fire in September, 1876. As there are no county newspaper files for the reconstruction period, the people who were interested in and engaged in public affairs at the time are the sole dependence for facts. From the end of the war until 1867 the officers were elected without Federal interference. The first removal was that of Probate Judge I. L. Bolton, who was a Conservative Democrat and thoroughly satisfactory to the people. The Radicals were not pleased, however, and after the assumption of control by the military authorities, A. E. Gray was appointed Probate Judge. At the close of the war, William M. Emmons resigned as Sheriff, and Major J. J. Perry was appointed in his place by Governor Sharkey. The office was filled by appointment until Major Perry was elected by the people in 1865. He remained in office until 1867, and was followed in close succession by J. P. Dansby, J. J. Kox, A. E. Gray, G. E. Longmire and ——— Howard, all of whom were appointed, and then by C. B. Gallaspy, who was elected in 1871. This gave Newton County six Sheriffs in a period of four years. All of these men were good, upright citizens with the exception of Howard, who ran away the night before the election in 1871, taking about $300 of the county money with him.

Thomas Keith was elected Probate Clerk in 1865, and held office until 1869, when he was removed, and C. S. Swann was appointed in his place. J. A. Ware was elected Circuit Clerk, but was removed, and T. Dearing, a Republican, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

The Board of Police for 1869 was composed of Tom Tingle, Dan Sandal and ——— Burton, all white Republicans, and William Woodward, a negro Republican, who formerly belonged to a minister by the name of Woodward. Upon the death of the minister, his widow married C. S. Swann, one of the leading carpetbaggers, and it was through his influence that the negro held office. The next board, which went into office in 1870, was composed of Frank Sessions, D. Ware, W. A. Milling, all white

Republicans, and Willis Donald, a negro Republican. The writer was told that a third negro served on the board, but no definite information could be obtained on this point. Removals were frequent, but owing to the absence of records, the succession of officers cannot be accurately given.

The boards were extravagant, but there were no open frauds perpetrated, except in extravagant allowances and contracts for schoolhouses. It was stated that every schoolhouse that was built during this period cost two or three hundred dollars more than it should. The indebtedness of the county when the Democrats regained control in 1871 was $40,000, and the county bonds were selling for only fifteen cents on the dollar. It was suspected that after the Treasurer made his report the same warrants were put into circulation a second time. William M. Raines, who was Treasurer for a part of the time, believed this so strongly that he burned all the warrants that he turned in to prevent their being put into circulation again. He was removed, and Harvey, a carpetbagger, was appointed in his place. C. S. Swann, who was Chancery and Circuit Clerk from 1868 to 1871, had his own pictures put on the county warrants. He resigned the office of Circuit Clerk, and E. H. Barry, another carpetbagger, was appointed. Swann then became Superintendent of Education, thus holding two offices at one time.

Parties and Party Leaders.

The Democratic party in Newton County was composed of practically all the white voters. The Republican party was made up of a few Old Line Whigs, who were native Republicans from principle; some native white Republicans, who joined the party for the spoils of office; a few northern carpetbaggers, who drifted into the county after the war; and the negroes, most of whom had recently been emancipated and enfranchised. Although many Republicans held office in the county, and there were probably three negroes on the Boards of Police, all of them got their positions by appointment. No Republican was ever elected to office in the county by fair means. The people were forced to endure many insults and indignities during these times, but

through the discretion, wisdom and foresight of the Democratic leaders, the affairs of the county were finally steered into safer and less turbulent waters. Among these leaders were Eugene Carleton, T. M. Scanlan, Thomas Keith, Martin Stamper, etc.

Eugene Carleton was born in Gainesville, Sumter County, Alabama, January 31, 1840, and came to Newton County, Mississippi, when a boy. He belonged to the Thirty-ninth Mississippi Regiment, and did good service throughout the war. After the war he went to his home, near Decatur, and immediately became one of the political leaders in the county. As he was a Democrat, through and through, and a true-hearted Southerner, he resented the indignities that were heaped upon the white people of his county during the reconstruction period. He was elected Chancery Clerk in 1871, and continued almost uninterruptedly in office until a few years ago. He has done more for the county probably than has any other one man, and it was largely through his instrumentality that it was reclaimed from Radical rule. The people in thus sustaining him in office have showed their appreciation of his services and their belief in his abilities. He is now living at his home near Decatur, which place has been in his possession ever since his settlement in the county.

T. M. Scanlan is a native of the county and, with the exception of a few years, has always lived in it. He was a member of the Thirteenth Mississippi Regiment. He made a gallant soldier, and brought back with him indisputable evidences of having been in the thick of the fight. He had occasion after the war to prove his loyalty and devotion, for he remained months in prison rather than divulge the names of his fellow-citizens who were connected with the "Robinson Club" to which he belonged. He was elected to the office of Circuit Clerk in 1872, but never ran for any other public office, though he took great interest in political affairs and had much influence. He is at present living in the town of Newton, and is one of its most prominent citizens.

Thomas Keith was born in Green County, Alabama, in February, 1839. His parents moved to Newton County when he was a child, and he grew up in the county. He was a teacher until 1862, when he joined the Thirteenth Mississippi Regiment, with

which he served as a private until the close of the war. He engaged in all the battles in which his brigade participated, with the exception of a few months that he was prisoner. He was elected Probate Clerk in 1866, but was removed by military authority in 1868. He was elected to the Legislature, but as the Constitution of 1868 was not adopted, he did not serve. He was arrested and taken to Jackson by the carpetbaggers, but being a friend of Judge Hill, the Federal Judge, before whom he was to be tried, he was released. He represented his county in both branches of the Legislature and took a lively interest in public affairs until his death, in 1908.

Dr. J. C. McElroy was born in Lincoln County, Tennessee, in 1825. He came to Newton County, Mississippi, where he settled as a physician in 1849. He served in both the Mexican War and in the War of Secession, and after the latter he served his county in the lower house of the Legislature. He was a strong Democrat, but his best services were not of a political nature, for he practically gave his whole life to administering to the physical needs of the people of Newton County. He has retired from the practice of his profession, and is living a quiet life in the town of Newton.

John Watts was born in South Carolina in May, 1805. Soon thereafter he came with his father's family to Wayne County, Mississippi. He held the offices of Justice of the Peace, Circuit Clerk and District Attorney (Newton County being in his district). He then served as Circuit Judge for a period of twenty-two years. He also served in the State Senate in the reconstruction period (1872-1873). He was a conscientious man, a model of sobriety and diligence in official duties. He was an Old Line Whig, but his qualities were such that people always supported him for office.

Martin W. Stamper came from Georgia and lived in the town of Stratton, which formerly bore his name.[9] He, too, was a Confederate soldier, and after the war interested himself in local af-

[9] This town at first bore the name of Pinckney, but was changed to Stamper, and from that to Stratton.

fairs. He has held the office of Treasurer and has represented his county in the Legislature.

There were a few Republicans in the county who were strong, upright and honest men, but the leaders of that party were generally unprincipled carpetbaggers, who came South for purposes of gain. The most notorious of these carpetbaggers were Howard Harvey, C. S. Swann and E. H. Barry.

Harvey was very unprincipled and did a great deal to cause strife and friction between the races. He came from Philadelphia, and soon attracted attention to himself by teaching negro schools in Newton County. He advocated social as well as political equality of the races and proceeded to set the example by marrying a negro woman, whom he deserted after a short time.[10] He organized the Loyal League among the blacks and, according to the account of an old negro, planned for the negroes to rise against the whites and kill every man in Newton.[11] It is definitely known that he came very near causing a riot. He held the office of Treasurer in the county, as well as that of Justice of Peace. He was finally arrested and guarded in the town of Newton. It is thought that arrangements were made to lynch him, but he was allowed to escape and the people were not troubled with him after 1871.[12]

C. S. Swann originally came from the North, but he lived in the county several years before the war. He married a Southern woman, whom he afterwards deserted. He easily allied himself with the Republican party and endorsed its practices, as it afforded him an opportunity to get office. He held successively the positions of Postmaster, Superintendent of Education and Chancery Clerk. He manipulated the affairs of the Radical party, kept the people in a disturbed state of mind and caused many of them to be arrested and carried to Jackson, to appear before the United States Court. He was a very dishonest man. After leaving the county, he lived in Jackson, where he engaged in making counterfeit money. He was finally arrested, tried and

[10] Statement made by Mr. T. M. Scanlan.

[11] This statement was made by George Carr, an old negro who belonged to the league.

[12] Brown's *History of Newton County*, 157-8.

sentenced to the penitentiary, but, owing to the implication of higher authorities in his schemes, he was allowed to escape. Nothing further is known of him after this incident.[13]

E. H. Barry came from the North, but it is not known definitely from what place. He was well educated. He was appointed Circuit Clerk and was a candidate for that office in 1871, but was defeated. He left the county soon after, going to Noxubee County, and there we lose sight of him.[14]

One of the best known Republicans of the county was E. D. Beattie, of Lawrence. He came to the county before the war, and was a Republican from principle. He voted the Republican ticket in the national campaigns, but refused to vote that ticket in the county elections. He was elected to office several times in the history of the county by the Democrats, and was considered a thoroughly honest man and a gentleman. Mr. Beattie is now living at his home in Lawrence.[15]

Elections and Party Methods.

The Democrats outnumbered the Republicans in Newton County, but a great many of the leading Democrats had been disfranchised, thereby making the factions more nearly equal. The usual way of carrying elections was by stuffing the ballot boxes, and this was resorted to by both parties. It has been definitely stated that the Democrats stuffed the boxes, but when and where this took place, the writer has been unable to learn. It is said positively that this was not done by the Democrats in the election of 1871, when they regained control of the county.[16]

Each party used various methods to get votes and to prevent the members of the opposing party from voting. Dick O'Neal, a negro, reported to the authorities that T. M. Scanlan and T. Russell threatened to kill him if he did not vote the Democratic ticket. These men were arrested and taken to Jackson for trial, and Harvey was to be the main witness against them. The

[13] These facts were obtained from Eugene Carleton and T. M. Scanlan.
[14] Mr. Carleton furnished this information.
[15] These facts were given by Dr. J. C. McElroy, of Newton, and Mr. Eugene Carleton, of Decatur.
[16] T. M. Scanlan made these statements.

friends of the accused in Jackson caught Harvey and administered a coat of tar and feathers. The next day when the case was called, Harvey was reported in no condition to appear, and the case was dismissed for lack of witnesses. The men were really not guilty, but they knew that Harvey would not hesitate to swear anything.[17]

On another occasion, when the negroes had collected in the town of Newton in large numbers to vote, they were intimidated and prevented from voting by some white men, who "blustered about" and crowded around the polls. This was in an election previous to 1871, but in which year the writer has not been able to find out.[18]

Just before the election of 1871, two conservative white Republicans, J. A. Giles and E. D. Beattie, and a negro Republican, were appointed registrars for Newton County. It was agreed that the negro should qualify the negroes and the white registrars should qualify the white voters. This was a satisfactory plan, but just before the election, and too late to be remedied by the Democrats, the conservative registrars were removed and R. D. Bounds was appointed for the Radicals and G. W. Bounds for the Democrats. They were brothers, and had served in the Confederate Army. But both of them had deserted, the former going over to the Yankees, while the latter "took to the woods." They had decided that all who had not been sworn by the negro were illegal voters, and erased their names. They then had all the negroes who had been sworn by the white registrars meet them at night and be re-sworn. They refused to let any outsiders whatever see the books, and they appointed a negro as Democratic challenger. The challengers received the Democratic votes at every box in the county except in Beat Two, where the Democratic voters banded together and voted in a separate box. At the other boxes the Democrats had committees to watch and tally the voting, so that a regular voting list was obtained. The Radicals allowed no real Democratic challengers at the polls to see either the voting or counting. The

[17] Mr. Scanlan, one of the participants in this affair, gave this information.

[18] M. R. Watkins is authority for this statement.

Republican tickets were in the shape of flags, while the Democratic tickets were blood-red sheets.

When all the votes were sent to Decatur to be counted, the registrars omitted to count the Democratic votes, and gave out their majority as 374. The Democrats guarded the courthouse and built enormous bonfires at night to prevent the registrars from escaping. Thus the registrars were virtually prisoners for four days and nights. The Republicans took control, but as the Democratic count had amounted to about 655 majority, they contested the election. Before a trial could be held, however, the Radicals forced every man in the county before whom it could be held, to resign, except Wiley A. Pullen, a Justice of the Peace, who was a Democrat. He presided at the trials, and on account of the indisputable proofs of the Democrats, they were victorious in the contest. Mr. Pullen said that the Radicals threatened him in every way and offered him hundreds of dollars to resign. Later, when Bounds was asked what had been done with the Democratic votes, he said, "They had been treated as waste paper." An exact vote was never given out.

Although the Democrats had won the election, and won the contest, it was another thing to get control. Eugene Carleton, who was elected Chancery Clerk, while waiting for the contest to be decided, remarked to Barry, the Republican candidate for that office, that "He would lift him out of his boots in a few days." Barry became alarmed and tried to have Carleton arrested and carried to Jackson, but was not able to carry out his plan. He also took the books and hid them in the cellar of his house. Carleton, with one or two men, went to his house, and by means of threats of an armed force and more decided hints as to certain firearms, forced him to surrender the books. The carpetbaggers left the county after this election, and it has been under Democratic control ever since.

The Radicals elected Dr. G. E. Longmire as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868 over J. H. Campbell. He acted with the Democrats, however, and resigned with them when they quit the convention.[19]

[19] This information was obtained from Eugene Carleton, who was a candidate in that election.

Race Conflicts.

One of the most unfortunate occurrences in the county in the reconstruction period was the riot which took place about seven miles southeast of Hickory, in February, 1868. During the years 1865 and 1867, very good relations had been maintained between the negroes and the white people, but in 1868 the Freedman's Bureau was well established in the State, and when a negro felt himself aggrieved he had ready recourse to the military court, especially if there had been a quarrel between the parties. In this new state of affairs, the negroes became idle and insolent. They would not work and often took things that did not belong to them. Of course, this practice brought on trouble.

The Denis brothers, D. A. and E. R., owned a plantation in the southeastern part of the county. Near their plantation there lived some negroes who formerly belonged to the Dyess family. There were five brothers in this negro family, who were concerned especially in the riot. Their names were Prince, Orange, John, Sonny and Joe. Mr. E. R. Denis had missed some hogs, and he suspected that these negroes had taken them. He, with W. T. Tucker, went to Prince Dyess's house to search, and found Prince's wife cooking fresh hog-meat. She affirmed that she got it from her Uncle Henry, but "Uncle Henry" stoutly denied this. Upon searching the house, they found a big box of fresh meat buried in the yard near the chimney. Prince did not come home that day nor was he there the next morning. They then told the woman that she would have to go with them to Hickory. They started, but met Prince and Orange, both of whom were armed with double-barrel guns. Prince confessed that he had killed the hogs. Mr. Denis told him that he was willing to compromise and "make it as light as possible," provided Prince would leave the country. As Prince promised to meet them at Hickory, Messrs. Denis and Tucker went on alone and waited all day for him. Upon his failure to keep his promise, Mr. Denis sued out a warrant and returned. This warrant was placed in the hands of Mr. D. D. Gibson to execute. That night Mr. Gibson, the Denises, with several other white men,

went to arrest Prince, but, not finding him at home, they turned the trip into a "possum hunt." As they were returning, a volley was fired into the party at close range. D. A. Denis fell dead, while three others were wounded. The negroes rushed from their ambush and only E. R. Denis stood his ground, the others retreating as best they could. After all was over, D. A. Denis was found dead with two gunshot wounds in his body, and E. R. Denis was dead nearby, with his head horribly crushed and his body run through as if by a sword. There was only one person who fired from the white party, and that was E. R. Denis. He lay on his pistol and three barrels were empty. John Dyess, who was arrested later, had two bullet holes in his body, which wounds were probably made by Mr. Denis.

The news spread rapidly, and the next morning about twenty men came from Garlandsville. The negroes also gathered in large forces at old John's house and sent a defiant message to the whites to come and arrest them. The party of white men charged on the negroes, who fired at them from all sides. Many of the white men were wounded, and it is thought that several negroes were killed. The negroes retreated, and the white men found old John Dyess in the house when they took possession of it. He was "sent to Hickory" immediately, and all sight of him was lost completely. Joe and Henry were caught later and "sent along the same road." The other Dyess negroes took refuge with the Freedman's Bureau at Meridian. Another Mr. Denis with some friends found them there, and prevailed upon the agent to give them up, which he did, after requiring the negroes to pay $13, the amount advanced to them for provisions. By some chance, Prince, the cause of the whole trouble, made his escape and nothing was ever heard of him afterwards, but the remaining three were taken, and suffered the same fate as their predecessors.

As soon as these facts became known, soldiers were sent to the scene of action; the white men who had taken any part against the negroes were compelled to leave the country or hide out to keep from falling into the hands of the Federal authorities. However, several arrests were made at once, Sim Perry, R. L.

Sanders, Dr. S. G. Louchridge, of Jasper County, being among the number. These were kept in prison for three months, and after a trial before a military commission at Vicksburg, they were finally acquitted, but not without first paying enormous lawyers' fees.[20]

After this occurrence, the negroes became more bold and insulting, encouraged by the presence of the soldiers in the county. The white people were intimidated, because they did not know when they might be arrested on the mere report of some negro. The negroes would meet and drill, and they actually went through some forms of military drill on the streets of Newton and Decatur in open daylight. In one or two instances a loaded gun was leveled on a white man while he was abused by an insolent negro. Dick O'Neal, an impudent negro, who lived in Hickory, did this, but the name of the white man he abused could not be obtained. On one occasion when the negroes talked of marching with arms through the town of Newton, a large body of them came to the place to hear what the white people had to say about it. Two citizens of the county, Judge John Watts and Mr. G. W. Cheek, made speeches to them and told them what would be the consequences. This evidently frightened them, as they did not come.[21]

Another very serious affair took place in Decatur, but fortunately it resulted in no loss of life. This was in the fall of 1868. Judge Tarbell, a carpetbagger from New York, was holding Circuit Court in Decatur. He was a fair-minded man, but was narrow in his views and a ready tool in the hands of his party leaders. George C. McKee, the Republican candidate for Congress, and Jim Lynch, a negro preacher from Philadelphia, candidate for Secretary of State, were to speak in the courthouse. The negroes were well drilled and organized politically by Harvey, and they came to town well armed. They were unusually insolent, and assembled in such crowds as to completely obstruct

[20] This information was furnished by Mr. D. D. Gibson, a prosperous farmer who lives in the southern part of the county. He took part in this riot, and was the officer who served out the warrant. After the trouble was over, he had to hide out for over a year, and saved himself from arrest by going to Alabama.

[21] This information was obtained from *Brown's History of Newton County*, 173-181.

the streets leading to the courthouse, so that the white people had difficulty in reaching the place of speaking. They fired guns and made other displays. Just before the time set for the speaking, the negroes formed in line in the street, and Harvey, in full uniform, rode up and down reviewing his troops. They then began to march to the courthouse. Some of the prudent white Democrats, fearing that trouble would ensue, went to the speakers and told them, if any trouble arose, they would be held personally responsible for it, and that their lives would be in jeopardy, if a single white man was shot or injured in any way. The Republican speakers then advised Harvey to have the negroes stack their guns about seventy yards from the courthouse, which advice was followed. The white people then took the precaution to place themselves between the guns and the speakers.

There was nothing in the speeches to offend the white people, but just before the close of Lynch's speech, Dick O'Neal (mentioned above) got into a dispute with R. P. Gary, a white Democrat. They used abusive language, to which the negroes, who had gathered around, listened. Suddenly a negro cried out, "To your arms," and a rush was made, but Lynch, seeing the danger, shouted to them in compelling tones, and commanded them to sit down. The negroes obeyed and he quieted them. There were a thousand men in Decatur, and if a riot had ensued, there would have been much trouble and bloodshed.[22]

Organizations.

The most important organization in Newton County in the reconstruction period was the Ku Klux Klan, which was organized by G. E. Longmire in 1869 or 1870. There were several dens in the county, but only three can be definitely located. There was a den at Decatur, the leader of which was Eugene Carleton. This den did little besides hold meetings, as it was not deemed wise under the circumstances to administer corporal punishment

[22] This account was taken from Brown's *History of Newton County*, 434-437, and corroborated by the late M. R. Watkins, of Newton.

to the negroes.[23] I. I. Barber was the leader of the klan at Hickory.

Nothing can be learned of the Newton Klan, except that it existed.

The Klan exercised control by intimidating the negroes through their superstitions, as well as through bodily correction. Many statements, more or less vague, have been made to the writer about the whipping of negroes and other forms of violence, but definite information has been withheld.

The initiation into the klan consisted of the taking of strong oaths, and learning the pass-words and signs. In the den at Hickory, the last seven letters of the alphabet counted backwards stood for the days of the week, respectively. Members of the klan used the regulation white drapery with the red cross, but any kind of disguise was allowable. They sometimes used false hands, which they would extend to negroes upon greeting them. As soon as a negro would grasp one of these hands its owner would ride off, leaving it in the possession of the terrified freedman. The members of the klan also drank large amounts of water by the use of rubber bags, as did the clansmen of other places.[24]

Three of the most prominent men of Decatur, Eugene Carleton, Tom Keith and M. J. L. Hoye were told of secret plans to arrest them for alleged connection with the K. K. K. They lay in the woods a week to escape capture, but were finally arrested by a negro company from Jackson. and were taken to that place for trial. After a short time, however, they were released by the Federal judge, R. A. Hill, under whom Mr. Keith had read law.[25]

Almost coincident with the K. K. K. in Newton County was another organization, known as the Robinson Club. It was organized in 1870 and its chief officer in the State was Thomas Gathwright. Its principal aims were to defeat the attempts to establish social equality and to prevent the scalawags from domi-

[23] Eugene Carleton furnished this information.

[24] These statements were made by D. D. Gibson, who was a member of the Hickory Klan.

[25] These facts were obtained from Mr. Eugene Carleton and from Mr. Jim Keith, the latter of whom is a brother of Mr. Tom Keith.

nating in politics. Its members pledged themselves to resist the United States Government in its attempts to thrust social equality upon the people. There were only two dens of this club in the county, as far as can be learned. These were at Newton and Decatur. They had regular meetings and paid dues. T. M. Scanlan was the head officer in the Newton Club. Their passwords were as follows:

First speaker: "Do you know Robinson?"
Second speaker: "Which Robinson?"
First speaker: "Squire Robinson."
Second speaker: "Where did you meet him?"
First speaker: "In the lodge room."
Second speaker: "What did he say?"
First speaker: "Death."
Second speaker: "Unto whom?"
First speaker: "Tyrants."

The club would decree in council the punishments of offenders, whether chastisement or death, and the decrees of the council were always carried out.

Generally members of clubs from adjoining neighborhoods would do the work in any particular community, and it was so managed that the men would be entirely unknown to each other. Thus the identity of members could not "be given away." There are hints of several cases of capital punishment, but no definite information can be obtained. The authorities finally arrested Mr. T. M. Scanlan, leader of the club at Newton. Upon his refusal to give any information as to its membership, passwords, etc., he was taken to Jackson and confined in prison for three months. When he was tried, one of the members of the grand jury who put the most questions to him was Charlie Caldwell, who afterwards met his death in the riot at Clinton, Mississippi. Scanlan was finally released. He returned to his home and was not molested again, though many other arrests were made, as the authorities in some way learned the names of other citizens connected with the organization. These were imprisoned for a time, but were also released on the payment of fines.[26]

Another organization that existed in the county was the Loyal

[26] This information was obtained from T. M. Scanlan.

League, which was organized by Howard Harvey. He promised the negroes social and political equality; also forty acres of land and provisions for a year, to all who would pay him five dollars each. A large number of the negroes did this, and in some instances the land was actually staked out, red stakes being used for the purpose. Nothing ever came of it, however, nor did the deluded negroes ever get their provisions. Harvey was forced to leave the county in 1871, and nothing was ever heard of the league thereafter. An old negro, George Garr, who belonged to the league, says that it was Harvey's plan for the negroes to fall upon the whites and exterminate them, and that when he (George) objected to the shedding of blood, he was expelled from the league. He reported this to Judge John Watts and Mr. A. J. Brown, through whose efforts insurrection was kept down without loss of life.[27]

Education and Religion.

There were only a few schools in the county and sentiment was rather against the free school system when it was established in 1870.[28] One citizen says that there were from forty to fifty schools in the county and that they did well. The white teachers received on an average of from $40 to $75 a month, but were paid in warrants which were very much depreciated in value. The teachers lost heavily in disposing of these warrants, which were worth at times only fifteen cents on the dollar.[29]

Negro schools were organized in the county in the reconstruction period, and the negroes showed a greater eagerness to attend them than did the white people. There were evidently several of these schools, but only two are definitely remembered. Howard Harvey, a carpetbagger, taught one a little north of Lawrence, and a Miss Lynch—a mulatto and a relative of James Lynch—taught another in the southern part of the county. Harvey had a bad influence over the negroes, but from all that can be

[27] George Garr is my authority for these statements.
[28] T. M. Scanlan made this statement.
[29] These facts were obtained from Mr. Eugene Carleton.

learned, Miss Lynch did good work. None of the native whites ever taught a negro school in Newton County.

The Gospel was first preached in the county in 1834, and the first church was organized in 1836. In the reconstruction period the Protestant Methodists had four churches in the county, with a membership of about 400; the Baptists had twelve churches and a very strong following. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, constituted one of the leading denominations of the county, but the number of churches of this faith is unknown. The Presbyterians had two churches, but their membership was not strong.[30] There were also several Congregational churches and one or two Cumberland Presbyterian churches.[31]

Until the close of the war, the negroes had their membership in the churches with their masters, but after that time it was thought best for them to go to themselves. In many of the churches, before the war, there were colored speakers and exhorters who, after emancipation, were ordained as ministers and began to preach to their own people.

Abram Donald was the first colored man to preach in the county after the war. The churches with the largest following among the negroes were the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal, the negroes naturally going to the Northern church, as their political allies belonged to it, rather than to the Southern. No church-houses were built for the negroes, however, until after 1875. These denominations now have a number of colored churches and Sunday-schools, with large memberships. The negroes of the Presbyterian faith, being few in number, retained their membership in the white churches until a few years ago.[32] Four negro members of the white Baptist Church in Decatur, who refused to withdraw after the war, retained their membership in that

---

[30] The first Presbyterian Church in the county was organized by Dr. J. N. Waddell, who afterwards became chancellor of the University of Mississippi.

[31] These church statistics, furnished by Rev. N. L. Clark, a life-long resident of the county, differ from the census statistics. See Appendix, Table III.

[32] Brown's *History of Newton County,* pp. 261-273.

church until their death, the last one dying in 1908, at the age of over one hundred years.[33]

Economic Conditions.

The Confederate currency, which had formed the medium of exchange during the war, was useless at its close, and there was little gold or silver left in the county. All of the best live stock had been taken by the enemy or used by our own soldiers. Fences were down and a general state of dilapidation existed. A good crop of cotton had been made in 1860 and some in 1861. Part of it was still in the county in 1865 and brought from fifty to sixty cents a pound. As soon as the people began to dispose of their cotton, goods were brought in and some business was done even in 1865. Goods for the money that was current, even for gold or silver, were fabulously high. Calico sold for forty cents, domestic of coarse quality was thirty to forty cents; cotton yarn sold at six to seven dollars, five-pound bundles, as late as 1866 and 1867; flour was $18 a barrel; shoes, clothing and all other articles of merchandise were at prices that would have been prohibitive under ordinary circumstances, but the great scarcity and high price of cotton warranted it, and the people accepted the situation.[34] Thousands of dollars were lost, and planters were completely ruined by supplying those who did not make enough from their crops to pay expenses.

The year 1865 passed off with few changes in the relations between the white people and the negroes, but in 1866 the change began. Many of the negroes preferred to work for strangers rather than for their old masters. It is stated that the officers of the county tried to dictate how much should be paid for negro labor,[35] and the Legislature made some laws regarding contracts. At the beginning of 1866 great numbers of these contracts were made and signed, and an attempt was made to have a large cotton crop. But seed were scarce, teams poor, and in many instances oxen or very young horses and mules were used in plowing the

[33] Eugene Carleton is authority for these statements.
[34] Brown's *History of Newton County*, pp. 125-127.
[35] T. M. Scanlan furnished this information.

ground. Very short cotton and corn crops were made. The price of cotton averaged forty cents a pound and corn was very high. A tax of $15 a bale was levied by the Federal Government on all cotton made in the Southern States, but it was lowered to $10 in 1867.

In 1867, the crops were poor again, but the cotton yield was larger than in the two preceding years. The corn supply was very short. The years 1868 and 1869 were much better cotton years, although labor was very hard to control on account of the interference of the Freedman's Bureau. A larger crop of cotton was made in 1870 and it brought twenty-five cents a pound. Large amounts of corn and bacon were advanced to farmers on credit. This credit could never have been obtained had it not been for the deed in trust law, by which the planters could get their supplies by mortgaging their growing crops, as well as their personal and real estate. The years 1871, 1872 and 1873 brought very little change in economic conditions in the county. The planters were heavily in debt, and there was a great lack of corn and home supplies. In 1870 or 1871 commercial fertilizers were introduced for the first time, Newton being the first county in the State to use this commodity in the general field crop.[36]

From 1868 to 1872, taxes were very high. A very large issue of warrants had been made to defray the expenses of the county, and there was no money in the treasury. These warrants depreciated to a very low price, and the people who worked for the county and took warrants for pay lost largely in sacificing them to men who had ready money. School teachers especially lost by the disposal of their warrants, for at one time they brought only fifteen cents on the dollar. After the return of home rule these warrants were paid in full, and brought a large profit to the people who had invested in them.

[36] Mr. I. I. Barber, of Hickory, has the distinction of being the first man in the county to advocate its use (Brown's *History of Newton County,* 128-140).

APPENDIX.

Table I. Population of Newton County, 1860-1880.

	Whites			Indians	Blacks		
	Native	Foreign	Total		Free	Slave	Total
1860	6,178	101	6,279	.....	3	3,379	3,382
1870	6,549	87	6,636	295	3,444	.....	3,444
1830	8,380	48	8,428	.....	4,686	.....	4,686

Table II. Agricultural Statistics of Newton County, 1860-1880.

	Improved Land	Value Improved Land	Cotton—Bales	Corn—Bushels	Wheat—Bushels	Oats—Bushels	Peas and Beans—Bushels	Sweet Potatoes—Bushels	Irish Potatoes—Bushels	Molasses—Gallons
1860	48,805	$1,179,733	8,205	346,460	1,332	3,433	18,997	55,028	1,982	.....
1870	48,894	487,292	3,399	201,704	2,492	7,205	1,341	30,262	168	.....
	Cultivated	Value Farms								
1880	58,019	$868,866	6,341	261,207	653	58,336	.....	64,601	.....	30,356

	Rye—Bushels	Rice—Pounds	Butter—Pounds	Wool—Pounds	Animals Slaughtered	Value of Live Stock	Value of Farm Products
1860	563	862	38,490	2,816	74,198	$438,160	.....
1870	22	258	42,030	5,650	72,770	341,130	$609,692
1880	82	29,673	117,420	10,756	.....	298,626	634,264

TABLE III. CHURCH STATISTICS OF NEWTON COUNTY, 1860-1870.

	BAPTIST			METHODIST			PRESBYTERIAN		
	Number	Accommodation	Value of Property	Number	Accommodation	Value of Property	Number	Accommodation	Value of Property
1860	5	1,700	$2,425	5	1,380	$2,450	2	700	$1,400
1870	6	1,800	....	6	1,500	....	2	700	....

TABLE IV. TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS OF NEWTON COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Assessed Value of Real Estate	Assessed Value of Personal Estate	Total Assessed Value of Real and Personal Estate	True Value of Real and Personal Estate	County Tax	State Tax	Total	PUBLIC DEBTS	
								For Which Bonds Have Been Sold	All Other
1860	$2,300,449	$4,171,158	$6,471,607	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	813,227	289,800	1,103,027	$1,213,329	$5,515	$11,133	$16,648	$9,000	$3,000
1880	566,214	273,967	840,181	....	8,781	4,791	13,572	.....	....

TABLE V. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS OF NEWTON COUNTY, 1870-1880.

	Number	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Hands		Cost of Labor	Value of Products
				Male	Female		
1870	23	$42,340	$57,411	120	.....	$26,258	$136,591
1880	21	31,075	42,268	64	.....	5,810	63,450

TABLE VI. OWNERS OF SLAVES IN NEWTON COUNTY ACCORDING TO NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	70 and under 80	100 and under 200	Total Owners	Total Owned
91	43	34	35	29	24	19	22	16	50	19	16	3	3	5	5	1	413	3,379

RECONSTRUCTION IN PONTOTOC COUNTY.

By M. G. Abney.[1]

Pontotoc County was formed from the Chickasaw Cession on February 9, 1836. This county is located in the northeastern part of Mississippi. Originally it was one of the largest counties in the State, but its area has been reduced almost one-half by the formation of Lee County in 1866, and of Union in 1870. Pontotoc County is bounded on the north by Union, on the east by Lee, on the south by Chickasaw and Calhoun, and on the west by Calhoun and Lafayette.

In 1840, the population was 4,491; in 1850 it was 17,112; in 1860 it was 22,113, of which 7,368 were taxable slaves and 2,414 were voters; in 1870 the population had decreased to 12,525, of which 3,012 were negroes; in 1880 it was 13,858, of which 4,249 were negroes. The decrease in population, as shown by the census of 1870, was due to the loss of citizens in the war and to the reduction of area in the formation of two new counties.

Pontotoc, the county seat, was incorporated in 1837. It now has a population of twenty-five hundred. The United States Land Office and the Chickasaw Land Bank were formerly located there, and the United States Court was held there for a number

[1] This contribution is the result of seminary work in the Department of History in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1909-'10.

Mr. M. G. Abney was born at Toccopola, Mississippi, in 1886. He was graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1910.

His paternal ancestors are of English, Welsh and Irish extraction. They settled in Virginia, later removed to Kentucky, and thence to Mississippi. Mr. Abney's father, F. S. Abney, attended the University of Mississippi, 1880-'82, but was unable to finish his college course on account of ill-health. He then became a merchant and planter at Toccopola, Mississippi.

Mr. Abney's maternal ancestors are of Scotch-Irish descent. One of them, Daniel Alexander, lived in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, during the Revolutionary War and took an active part on the side of the colonies in that conflict. His family then settled in Kentucky, from which State it removed to Mississippi. Another maternal ancestor, Thomas Bridges, was one of the pioneer settlers in what is now Union County, Mississippi. Mr. Abney's mother, Virginia Anne (Alexander) Abney, was born in Toccopola, Mississippi, and was graduated from the Chickasaw Female College in 1882.—Editor.

of years. Other small towns in the county are Sherman, Toccopola, Ecru, Algoma, Randolph, Chesterville, Thaxton and Troy.[2]

The first white inhabitants of the county came from Kentucky, Tennessee and the South Atlantic States, with the exception of Florida. A few of them also came from Alabama. The following families were the first to settle in the county: Bell, Fountaine, Gordon, Duke, Martin, Pinson, Gholson, Clarke, Bolton, Carr, Bigham, Ray, Stegall, Dandridge, Wilson, McNeill, Miller and Bradford. Other prominent families of the county are the Mitchells, Tuckers, Herrons, Souters and Daggets. In the northern part of the county are the Pitts, Sewells, Caldwells, Smiths, Youngs, Balls and Whites. The men from these families were excellent soldiers, and most of those who returned from the war quickly accommodated themselves to the new conditions which confronted them, serving their county faithfully and patriotically in political affairs.

The ancestry of many of these people can be traced back to the first settlers of the Atlantic States. They were chiefly of English, Scotch and Irish blood. Some were descendants of the French Huguenots who settled in Virginia and South Carolina.[3]

The county is well watered, the Yocona and Scoona Rivers rising within its borders. Some of the smaller streams are Chiwappa, Coonawa and Lapatubbee creeks. The soil of the eastern part of the county consists chiefly of Orangeburg clay, with streaks of Orangeburg sandy loam chiefly in the southern portion. A narrow belt of Lufkin silt loam extends through the central part of the county, running north and south. The formation in the western part of the county is of Monroe silt loam, with a strip of Lufkin clay in the southern part. The geological formation of the river and creek bottoms is of Congaree loam. The soil is very fertile and produces well.[4]

The noted Pontotoc Ridge enters the county on its north-central boundary and extends south through its entire length. This

[2] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 261-262.

[3] This information was obtained from B. B. Fountaine, Lieut. D. T. Pitts and others.

[4] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 261; also County Geological Survey.

is the dividing ridge between the Mississippi River on the west and the Tombigbee on the east. In the central part of the county this ridge is 1,500 feet above the tide water in the Gulf of Mexico. The ridge gradually gives way toward the east into fertile prairies. The county west of the ridge is rather undulating and most portions of it are fertile and productive. Pasturage in this portion of the county is good.

The county as a whole produces good crops of corn, cotton, oats, peas, hay, etc. The county is well adapted to fruit growing, Pontotoc Ridge being especially suitable for pears and peaches. The principal varieties of timber are pine, oak, hickory, gum, chestnut, cypress, ash and elm. Large amounts of pine and hardwood timber have been shipped from the county in recent years.

Pontotoc County has an area of five hundred and twenty-five square miles, a large part of which is in cultivation. During the reconstruction period it had only a few miles of railroad, the Mobile and Ohio crossing the northeastern corner. A few years after the war the Gulf and Chicago was completed from Middleton, Tennessee, to Pontotoc, opening up the north-central part of the county. In 1902 the Mobile, Jackson and Kansas City Railroad bought out the Gulf and Chicago and extended the line south from Pontotoc to Mobile, Alabama. Most of the merchandise used in Pontotoc during reconstruction days was obtained from Memphis and Holly Springs, and chiefly transported on wagons drawn by oxen.

Some of the citizens of Pontotoc County who have been prominent in State and national affairs are Col. Hugh R. Miller, a lawyer, judge and colonel of a Mississippi regiment in the War of Secession; Joseph L. Morphose, one of the three citizens of the State who remained in Mississippi after having been in the United States Congress in the reconstruction period; Col. J. B. Herring, a graduate of the University of Mississippi, a member of the convention that passed the Ordinance of Secession, and Colonel of the Fifth Mississippi Infantry; R. W. Flournoy, a lawyer and prominent leader of the Republican party in the county and in northeast Mississippi, who was also

a member of the Secession Convention; and Col. James Gordon, a millionaire planter, who owned a palatial home three miles south of Pontotoc, known as "Lochinvar." Colonel Gordon was also a graduate of the University of Mississippi. At the outbreak of the war he organized and equipped a Confederate cavalry company that rendered valiant service in the conflict. In recent years he has served with distinction in the State and United States Senates. Major-General John C. Bradford was a veteran of the Mexican War and of the War of Secession.

Pontotoc County was in a deplorable condition at the close of the war. Thirty-five hundred men had gone from the county to fight for their country. Many of them never returned, and others were wounded and disabled. The bloody battle of Brice's Cross Roads was fought within the limits of the county, and the Confederate and Federal troops frequently made raids through its borders. Property was confiscated and the means of subsistence were destroyed. It is said that before the end of the war the supply of salt became exhausted and the people were forced to filter the earth under their smokehouses, then evaporate the filtration, to obtain this important commodity. Labor conditions were very unsatisfactory. Hordes of negroes were given freedom, hitherto unknown and then misunderstood. In many cases where labor could be used, interference was made by men unfriendly to the South.[5]

Party Organizations and Leaders.

The Democratic and Republican parties assumed definite form in Pontotoc County in 1867. The former was composed mostly of native white men and a few negroes, who had remained faithful to their former masters. There were very few of the latter class, however. The Republican party was composed of three classes—carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes. The first class was composed of men who came or who had remained in the South after the war for political and pecuniary interests only. The scalawags were native Southerners who allied themselves

[5] These facts were obtained from Miss M. J. Alexander.

with the carpetbaggers, and accepted the rigid plan laid down by the North for the reconstruction of the South. Most of the representatives of this class joined the Republican party only for financial and political gain. Another element of native Republicans had been members of the Whig party before the war. In most cases they were true friends to the South. The fourth class was created by the reconstruction acts of Congress, beginning with the act of March 2, 1867. Under the Supplementary Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867, no person was qualified to serve as a registrar who had ever borne arms against the United States, or in the remotest way given aid or comfort to its enemies.

This law not only disqualified nearly all of the native white men in the county, but conferred suffrage on the freedmen, who were under the control of the carpetbaggers and scalawags. These white leaders organized the negroes into Loyal Leagues throughout the South.

Local organizations of the Loyal League are known to have existed at Pontotoc, Cherry Creek, Lafayette Springs and in the southern part of Pontotoc County. It is said that there were other organizations of this kind in the eastern part of the county.

The Democrats realized that their only hope lay in keeping the freedmen from voting the Republican ticket and in forcing them to vote the Democratic ticket or not vote at all. This plan was partly successful, for during almost the entire period some of the offices were held by Democrats. The Republicans were stronger in the Third and in portions of the Second District than in any other parts of the county. This was due largely to the strong Whig element in those parts of the county before the war. A majority of the negro voters were segregated at Pontotoc and the surrounding community.[6]

The most conspicuous Democratic leader was Col. C. D. Fountaine, Sr., who was the central figure among the Ku Klux of the county during the first period of its existence. Other leaders were C. D. Fountaine, Jr., J. D. Fountaine, D. F. Pitts, Pleas

[6] This information was derived from Messrs. Donaldson, Shelton, Threldkeld, Andrews and J. W. Campbell.

Saddler, Judge Bradford and Col. R. A. Pinson. Perhaps the most influential man in the Democratic party at this time was Henry Duke. He was ably seconded by Charles B. Mitchell, a brilliant lawyer and a fine speaker.[7]

Of the Republican party leaders, Col. R. W. Flournoy ranks foremost.[8] He was an eminent lawyer, and at the beginning of the war owned one hundred slaves and a large amount of other property. He was a member of the convention that passed the Ordinance of Secession in 1861. He first voted against secession, but later changed to make the vote unanimous. After the war he joined the Radical party and became "a thorn in the flesh" of those men who were contending for white supremacy in local and State politics.

After an election, in which the Democrats were chiefly successful, Colonel Flournoy became very sore over the results, and on the following day wrote to a Northern paper for publication a statement that while the Democrats were rejoicing over their victory, he could hear the wails of the wives and children of the negro voters who had been murdered by the Democrats in order to carry the election. He was defeated for the United States Senate by a white Republican, and when B. K. Bruce (colored) became a candidate for United States Senate, Colonel Flournoy became his campaign manager in the northern part of the State. His reason for supporting Bruce was that the white people had refused to support him. Although Pontotoc County had no Freedmen's Bureau, as did other counties in the State, yet Colonel Flournoy was at the head of the work of this kind in the county, and favored the negroes in many ways. He was the editor of *Equal Rights*, the Republican county paper, the motto of which was "Hue to the line and let the chips fall where they will." This paper was a great annoyance to the Democrats of

[7] These facts were obtained from Albert Spencer, W. F. Pitts, Col. James Gordon, Thomas Leland, J. H. Rowzee, J. D. Bridges and B. B. Fountaine, citizens of the county.

[8] He was a descendant of the French Huguenots who settled at Manakin Town on the James River. This place was given the Huguenots for settlement by Governor Spottswood of Virginia. From Virginia, the Flournoy family moved to Northern Georgia. Sometime before the war Colonel Flournoy removed to Pontotoc.

the county. We shall see more on this subject in the account of the Ku Klux Klan.

Colonel Flournoy was a good speaker, and often made speeches in the county in which he advocated social equality. In a speech made by L. Q. C. Lamar at Pontotoc, Colonel Flournoy was compared to a bottle which had had its contents used and was then placed aside. He said that the negroes had used Colonel Flournoy and then placed him aside without rewarding him for his services.

But for all his shortcomings in politics, he was highly respected and beloved. He took an active part in church affairs and gave freely to charitable purposes. The ideas he advocated were the mistakes of his life. Popular sentiment reproached him on account of his party affiliations.

The second leader of importance in the Republican party was W. W. Bell. He was appointed Sheriff in 1867 and continued to hold office during the greater part of the period. He had great influence over the negroes, as well as over the white Republicans, but his mode of controlling the negroes differed from that of Colonel Flournoy. He told them what to do, and how they should vote, and they did as he said.

Another Republican leader who was prominent not only in the county but throughout North Mississippi, was Joseph L. Morphis. He was highly respected by the people of both the Democratic and the Republican parties, having more friends among the Democrats than did any other Republican. He was not known primarily as an office-seeker and never stooped to get office, yet he was appointed United States Marshal of the Northern District of Mississippi and held this position two terms. In after years he was elected to represent his district in Congress. He was a good politician and a pleasing speaker, and served his constituents with distinction. Morphis was opposed to negro office-holding and to their participation in politics. After the reconstruction period he left the State to take a government position in Oklahoma Territory.

Campaign Methods.

The negroes were usually well organized in the portions of the county where they were thickly settled. In one of the political campaigns they had a great parade at Pontotoc. Part of them went on horseback, their horses being decorated with gay colors and having cow-bells dangling from their necks. Those who were not mounted formed a line behind the cavalry force. Then, to the sound of music, the company marched around the square and through the streets. According to command, all the negro voters came back on election day and, under Republican supervision, they were marched to the polls and voted.

The negroes also had a number of political rallies at Pontotoc. On these occasions they had dinner on the ground, and spent the day in drilling and parading. White Republicans were at the head of the negro organizations in the county. They were sent from Pontotoc to the voting precincts and into the different negro communities of the county to organize, hold rallies and conduct drills.

Another means of controlling the negroes was through the Republican paper published by Colonel Flournoy at Pontotoc. It kept the party unified and directed the efforts of Republicans, whether white or black.

The Democrats did everything in their power to prevent the negroes from joining the Radicals. Democratic leaders tried to show the negroes that they were dependent on the white property-owners, that the Republican leaders were merely office-seekers and not their true friends. Democratic speakers made eloquent pleas, encouraging the men of that party to stand firm and do all in their power to overthrow the foe. Many philippics were hurled at the carpetbaggers and scalawags by such speakers as Col. L. Q. C. Lamar, of Oxford; General Tucker, of Okolona; Hon. C. B. Mitchell, Capt. C. D. Fountaine, Col. James Gordon and others. Colonel Lamar made a number of political speeches in the county, some of which were in reply to speeches made by Colonel Flournoy.

It is said that a Republican major from Aberdeen, Mississippi,

who spoke at Pontotoc, tried to evade his opponent, Gen. W. F. Tucker, of Okolona, because he did not wish to meet that able lawyer in joint debate. But before the speech was finished, General Tucker came into the room, amid the cheers and yells of the Democrats, who asked the speaker for a division of time. The speaker refused to grant this request, and continued his speech until 6 o'clock. But meantime General Tucker had addressed the Democrats at another place.

Democratic political clubs, called "Robinson Bands," were organized at Pontotoc, Cherry Creek and other places in the county. These were secret organizations, and the members took oaths to vote the Democratic ticket and to exert their influence to overthrow Republican rule. One of their secret pass-words was "Old Coon"; one of their signs of recognition was "to pull at their trousers." These bands seem to have been organized in 1868 and to have lasted until about 1873. In some cases, when unworthy and ignorant white Republicans or negroes obtained office, a committee of influential Democrats was sent to confer with them about the ruinous condition of the county and the burdens they were bringing on the taxpayers, and to request them to resign.

The Republicans, both white and black, were organized at Cherry Creek. Men were sent there from Pontotoc to keep up the negro drills and to rally the people to the Radical party. That portion of the county had a Democratic majority, and on account of the strong opposition shown by the whites, the negro drills were usually held at night. Whiskey was furnished in abundance, and the drills were frequently turned into marauding, drunken sprees. On election days the Republicans sent from Pontotoc had the negroes to assemble on the roadside near Cherry Creek, whence they marched to the polls and voted.[9] After the Democrats were allowed representation on the election commissions, they managed to keep from counting the negro vote, by a skillful manipulation of tickets and by other fraudulent practices.

At Lafayette Springs the negroes from Pontotoc and Lafay-

[9] These facts were obtained from W. R. Pitts and M. W. Andrews.

ette Counties were organized into a military band, consisting of men, women and children. They had frequent picnic and drill days. Their drills were held in an open field, and long sticks were used instead of guns and swords. These drills were broken up by a cavalry force of white men of the community, who charged the negro infantry and belabored them with clubs. After a few experiences of this kind the negroes never met to drill again. In this part of the county—the northwestern—the negroes were almost as numerous as the whites.[10]

At Toccopola, a town near the Lafayette County line, the Democrats were under the leadership of a highly honored teacher by the name of W. B. Gilmer. In 1866 he was commissioned by Sheriff McKee, of Lafayette County, to lead the white citizens and devise the means necessary to put down negro uprisings and to keep the negroes in their places. While Professor Gilmer had control at Toccopola, this work was done in an orderly and skillful way, though at times law-breakers had to be corrected. He went to negro houses and had their arms and ammunition taken away. Robert Listenby, one of his deputies, carried a long "yankee halter" with him, and when a negro refused to surrender his arms and ammunition, this halter was placed around his neck and thrown over a limb. Without further punishment the negro usually told where his military stores were hidden. When the Ku Klux Klan was organized at Toccopola, Gilmer turned affairs over to the clansmen. The white citizens did not permit the negroes to organize Loyal Leagues at Toccopola.[11]

At Sander's Mill Box, a voting precinct in the southwestern portion of the county, there was a strong Democratic organization having, perhaps, one hundred members. Under the supervision of this organization and the Ku Klux Klan combined political affairs were managed in a way favorable to the Democrats. The negroes were not usually allowed to vote, and when they did it was certain that they voted the Democratic ticket. All resistance offered by the negroes and Republicans was quickly

[10] Statements of Shelton Threlkeld and John Grisham.
[11] Statements made by W. B. Gilmer and Miss M. J. Alexander.

overcome in this community.[12] The manner of suppression will be related in the sketch of the Ku Klux Klan.

Little information could be obtained concerning the political conditions in the southern and southeastern portions of the county. It is known that the negroes were organized in the southern portion and had frequent drills until they were broken up by the white people. Some negroes were whipped, and men were burned in effigy to scare the negroes into submission.[13]

Government.

In the general election, held on the first Monday in October, 1864, the five men who were elected to the office of Board of Police in Pontotoc County were honorable and upright Democrats or Old Line Whigs,—men of the best and most respectable families the county could afford. T. A. Mitchell was president of the board. After the surrender, this board was reappointed by Governor Sharkey, whom the President had made Provisional Governor of Mississippi. This board accepted the results of the war in good faith and desired to restore peace and order in the county. At its meeting, on February 7, 1865, the Treasurer made a report that there were $5,459.56 of Three Per Cent Funds at interest, and that the interest due and unpaid amounted to $1,612.00. The writer could not learn the origin or purpose of this fund. The report made by the Committee on Military Relief Fund, established for the aid of sick and wounded soldiers, showed that the receipts amounted to $39,977.33 and that $30,187.67 had been disbursed. The report of the Paupers' Fund showed that $309.75 had been received and $123.10 disbursed. During the latter part of the war and for some time thereafter the salt supply of the county was depleted, and almost all the salt used in the State was obtained from the Gulf Coast. Salt obtained in this way was divided among the counties of the State. Tom Wilson and J. S. Rivers were appointed commissioners by the board to transfer the salt from the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and to direct the distribution of it. The Board

[12] Statements of Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Philipps.
[13] This statement is made on the authority on T. W. Bynum.

of Police appointed one citizen from each district as School Commissioner; also one citizen from each district as a Commissioner for Destitute Families. This board continued in office until September 3, 1866.[14]

In the period of reconstruction, Jefferson Wilson (1858-1868), J. C. Shoup (1870), and W. L. Lyles (1871-1874), represented the county in the State Senate, and Joseph L. Morphis, J. M. Burton and B. F. McWorter (1865-1867), C. B. Mitchell and S. H. Wood (1870-1871), C. R. Wharton (1872-1873), and Thomas Stockstill (1874-1875) in the lower house. Jefferson Wilson, usually called "honest Jeff," was a high-toned gentleman and served his county faithfully in many important positions. Joseph L. Morphis was the cleanest Republican in the county. He never lowered himself in the public estimation in order to get office. He served as United States Marshal of the Northern District of Mississippi two terms, was appointed to fill an unexpired term in the lower house in the Firty-first Congress and was then elected to the same position, which he held during the Forty-second Congress. He received the two years of back salary granted by the Salary Grab Act.

There were three changes made in the Board of Police by the election held in 1866, S. M. Robertson, William B. Hooker and E. Herring taking the places of J. L. Rivers, Frank Souter and F. A. Mitchell, respectively. The new members of this board were of the same class of good citizens as were those who had preceded them. In 1867 many of the best citizens of the county were disfranchised. According to the act of Congress, no person could hold office or vote who had not taken the Iron Clad Oath. This law was enforced by Federal soldiers at Pontotoc, some of whom were negroes. These troops were under the control of Captain Hulinsci, Lieut. F. R. Cofe and a negro officer. Under the supervision of these men, the oath of allegiance was administered and the registration law enforced. The right of suffrage was conferred upon all freedmen.[15]

The minutes of the Board of Police, dated July 8, 1867, show

[14] Minutes of the Board of Police, also the statements of Abbot Spencer, Thos. Leland and J. H. Rowzee.

[15] Statements of Lieut. D. T. Pitts.

that W. M. Neely, D. S. Purvine and Thomas Stockstill had succeeded G. G. Horton, S. M. Robertson and E. Herring on that body. The board had a Democratic majority, and for the most part it conducted affairs with a view to the general good of the county.[16] It continued in office until the removal of General Gillem and the appointment of Adelbert Ames as commander of the Fourth Military District and Provincial Governor of Mississippi.[17]

Ames was virtually made dictator by a joint resolution of Congress, February 16, 1869, which discharged practically all the civil offices of the State. He removed the Board of Police and other county officers in Pontotoc County and filled the vacancies with men of his own appointment. W. W. Bell was appointed Sheriff in 1867 and continued to hold office until 1872. He was a native of the county, but after the war he joined the Republicans and, in connection with Colonel Flournoy, was the local leader of that party. They exercised control of the affairs of the county, and had complete authority over the negroes. "They voted them at the polls as if they were so many sheep." [18]

The following record was taken from the minutes of the Board of Police of 1869:

"We, the persons appointed by General Ames commanding the Fourth Military District, members of the Board of Police of said county of Pontotoc, met at the courthouse thereof, to-wit: J. W. Bowen, R. A. Langston, John Cheney, M. J. Hegler, W. W. Dowdy."

The members of this board were illiterate and unqualified for office. They were men who were placed in office through the influence of the Republican party leaders for the purpose of controlling county affairs in a manner suitable to themselves. John Bowen, from the First District, was president of the board. He was a mere boy, and when the older and wiser citizens conferred with him about the extravagance of this board and the ruin it

[16] Thos. Stockstill represented the county in the lower house in 1874 and 1875.

[17] Abbot Spencer, Thomas Leland, Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 298-299.

[18] Statements of Lieut. D. T. Pitts, Abbot Spencer, J. D. Bridges and Will Donaldson, citizens of Pontotoc County.

was bringing on the taxpayers of the county, he, with one or more of his colleagues, resigned. It is not known who took their places.[19]

The following incident is told of John Cheney, a member of this board: He had not held office long before his conceit was shown to a marked degree. Some of the Democrats, among them the Fountaine brothers, deceived him into believing that Governor Ames had been called to Washington, and that he was to be appointed Governor to fill the vacancy. A petition was carried to him, asking him to accept the position upon the receipt of his commission from Washington. In a short time a letter was received, which he thought to be a true commission. Promptly he wound up his business and was about to leave for Jackson, when he found that the whole thing was a joke. Ever afterwards he was known as "Governor" Cheney.[20]

The last mentioned board continued in office until July, 1870, when a new board was appointed by Governor Alcorn. W. M. Neely, of the First District, was made president. O. P. Wingo, the member from the Third District, was a good and respected man who had been an Old Line Whig. After the war he joined the Republicans, and became one of the strongest party men in the district. Ed Miller (colored) and Sam Duke (colored), represented the Fourth and Fifth Districts, respectively. These colored members conducted themselves as best they knew how, but were easily influenced. Sam Duke had served as body guard for Col. R. A. Pinson during the war. Both of these negroes were persuaded to resign before the expiration of their terms of office.

J. N. Sloan, an ex-Confederate soldier and an excellent citizen, became Chancery Clerk in 1866 and served in that capacity through the reconstruction period, with the exception of two terms. When the county officers were rejected by General Ames and men of his own appointment put in office, J. B. Roseman became Chancery Clerk. He was perhaps the most illiterate white man that ever held office in Pontotoc County. He could

[19] Statements of Lieut. D. T. Pitts.
[20] Statement made by W. M. Donaldson.

neither read nor write. In 1870 he was succeeded by Charles C. Fountaine, a true Democrat and a man who filled the office with credit to himself and to his party.[21]

Elisha Browning was Treasurer of the county during 1869 and 1870. He was succeeded by O. C. Carr, who filled the double office of Treasurer and County Attorney. In 1870, L. D. T. McVey served as Tax Collector, being succeeded by I. P. Wilson in 1872. The county offices from 1868 to 1872 were divided between Democrats, white Republicans, and negro Republicans. After the last mentioned date no negroes held office.

Upon the withdrawal of the Federal troops in 1871 or 1872 the Democrats quickly regained control of affairs in Pontotoc County, and the elections were conducted in a more orderly way. In the general election, held December 20, 1871, three new men were elected on the Board of Supervisors—N. J. Gibson, J. W. Pitts and A. J. Moore; O. P. Wingo, J. J. Hunter and two of the members of the old Board of Police, as it was formerly called, were elected to membership on the new board. This board continued to have a Republican majority and was entirely under the control of that party.[22]

In the year 1872 we find that the board consisted of W. L. Souter, J. M. Williams, R. A. Miller, J. W. Pitts and A. J. Moore—the last two of whom were old members. It probably had a Democratic majority.[23]

In 1868, General N. B. Forrest came before the Board of Police, asking that the county take stock in the proposed Memphis, Holly Springs, Okolona and Selmer Railroad Company. The board passed an act to the effect that the question should be left to the voters of the county. The result is given in the minutes of the board in substance as follows:

By order of the honorable Board of Police of said county upon the subject of taking $150,000 or $200,000 stock in the Memphis, Holly Springs,

---

[21] These facts were obtained from Abbot Spencer, B. B. Fountaine, Thos. Leland, W. A. Donaldson.

[22] Statements of W. F. Pitts and Abbot Spencer.

[23] Statement made on the authority of Abbot Spencer, J. H. Rowzee and J. H. Bridges.

Okolona and Selmer Railroad, whereupon the following number of votes were polled, to-wit: For issuing the bonds, 648 votes; against issuing the bonds, 350 votes; and for taking fifty shares at $4,000 per share, 684 votes; and for fifty shares at $3,000 per share, four votes.

After this election the subject seems to have been dropped until three years later. Finally, at a meeting of the Board of Supervisors, held in 1871, General Forrest again presented the matter to the board for further consideration. After much deliberation, they decided in the negative, voting as follows: R. A. Miller, yea; J. W. Pitts, yea; L. W. Souter, nay; J. M. Williams, nay, and A. J. Moone, nay. However, before adjourning, the board decided to reconsider the proposition, and upon the second vote the decision was changed by L. W. Souter, who then voted in the affirmative. It was charged that soon after the first vote, General Forrest took Souter to the hotel and bribed him to change his vote.[24] The county then issued and sold the bonds to the amount of $390,000. As the proposed railroad was never built, the county refused to pay the interest on the bonds. Suit was brought against the county for $13,380. From the Chancery Court, the case was appealed to the Federal Court, at Oxford, by H. B. Wells, attorney for the plaintiff. Sale and Dowdy and Charles B. Mitchell were employed as attorneys for the defense. The decision of the court was in favor of the defendant and the Board of Supervisors recovered $165.40 from H. B. Wells on cost in the case. An appeal was taken, March 31, 1874, by H. B. Wells to the United States Supreme Court. Walters and Lanuggs, Sale and Dowdy, and Charles B. Mitchell were employed as attorneys for the defense. After costing the county forty or fifty thousand dollars the case was finally dismissed.

The expenses of the county were greater from the time the Board of Police, appointed by Ames, took office (1869) until the year 1873 than at any other time in the period of reconstruction. To a reader of the county records of the period, heretofore not acquainted with them, most of the expenditures, although at

[24] These statements are made on the authority of R. A. Wingo.

times heavy, seem to have been for the general welfare of the county.[25]

Yet many of the old and respectable citizens of the county testify to the fact that the county funds were expended in an extravagant and reckless manner. On the minutes of the board, which came into office January 1, 1874, are found three new names: J. M. Hoyle, president, C. C. Malone and W. P. Hooper. This board had a Democratic majority.

The election held in November, 1875, marks the complete overthrow of Radical rule in Pontotoc County. Every member of the new Board of Supervisors was a substantial Democrat. Henery Duke, a Democrat, whose influence in the county was, perhaps, second to none, was elected Sheriff over the Radical candidate, W. W. Bell. The other county offices were also filled with Democrats. Ever since that time the county government has been under Democratic control.

No fraudulent contracts were let in the county so far as can now be ascertained, but the county was burdened with an excessive rate of taxation during the entire period. This was due partly to the former destruction and decay of public buildings and improvements in the county and partly to the extravagant policies of the Republican régime. In 1865 the sessions of the Board of Police averaged three or four days, and each member drew three dollars a day and mileage, but soon afterwards the time spent in the meetings was doubled and the rate per day increased to five dollars. The County Commissioners appointed by the board also drew excessive pay. In 1873 the Registrars of Accounts averaged $158.33 each, and the School Commissioners as much as $75 for a few days school work. In one election the services of five Election Commissioners cost the county $163.[26] Further information on county finances may be obtained from the appendix to this study.

---

[25] Minutes of the Board of Police; J. H. Rowzee, Abbot Spencer, R. A. Wingo, John D. Bridges.

[26] County Records.

Ku Klux Klan.

The inside history of the Ku Klux Klan will never be fully known, but after the lapse of forty years since it was an active force, much of its secret operations have been disclosed. Those who lived in the ravaged South at the close of the war found themselves confronted by a condition of social and civil chaos subjugating them not only to hardships and humiliation, but also to dangers and to a degree of injustice difficult to realize. Col. James Gordon says:

"The time of the reconstruction was much more horrible than the four years of the Civil War. During the reconstruction period the defeat of the Civil War was rubbed and ground in us."

The Ku Klux Klan carried dread to the heart of the marauding negro, the stubborn scalawag and the despised carpetbagger. But it brought comfort and peace to the trembling women and terrified children of the South.

Gen. N. B. Forrest was the Grand Wizard, and under him were State and district and county commanders. There were two periods in which the Ku Klux Klan was an active force in the county.

The first den in the county is said to have been organized in 1867 or 1868 at Pontotoc by Gen. N. B. Forrest in person. Similar dens were then organized in different parts of the county. The members of the first den consisted of citizens from the best families. It was then a great blessing to the community. It was a military organization in which was mingled the glamour of chivalry and the awe and reverence-inspiring mysticism of a ritualistic religious order.

When the clansmen went out for service they were always disguised. Their disguises were similar to those used elsewhere in the South. The principal garment worn consisted of a loose-flowing gown, generally made of white domestic, long enough to conceal the entire body from the neck down; a belt was worn to keep the garment from being cumbersome. The gown was so divided that it could be used by horsemen as well as footmen.

The head gear consisted of cardboard covered with white cloth with openings for the eyes, nose and mouth. This head gear was in the shape of a dunce-cap. Some were two or more feet in length and were ornamented with red tassels which hung from the top.

The clansmen used watchwords, signs, curious sounds and whistles in communicating with each other. Their time of activity was during the darkness of the night. Their meetings were usually held on Saturday nights. While passing through a neighborhood they would howl and make doleful noises. The rubber waterbag was carried by one of the members and the water-drinking episode was often enacted at negro houses.[27]

The following statements about the men and deeds of local dens have been gathered by the writer from personal interviews with former clansmen.

Col. James B. Fountaine, Sr., was the Grand Cyclops of the klan in Pontotoc County. In him were combined a strong personality, a high order of intelligence and a genial, friendly disposition. He had had a successful career as a soldier and a dashing military leader. Consequently, he was a man well known and esteemed in the county. The Secretary to the Grand Cyclops was C. D. Fountaine, Jr., a son of Colonel Fountaine.[28]

There were at least eight dens of Ku Klux in Pontotoc County. Their headquarters were at Pontotoc, Cherry Creek, Sarepta, Toccopola, Lafayette Springs, Chesterville, Redland and Troy. The Pontotoc den was managed by the Grand Cyclops in person.

Soon after the surrender, General Huckstickler was stationed at Pontotoc with a garrison of Federal troops and negroes. The arrival of this garrison was soon followed by the organization of the Ku Klux Klan at that place. This den existed until about 1870. Definite facts concerning its operations could not be ob-

[27] The above statements are made on the authority of L. W. Phillips, Mrs. L. W. Phillips and Col. James Gordon.

[28] C. D. Fountaine, Jr., left the county a number of years after the reconstruction period. At present he is a highly esteemed citizen of Memphis, Tennessee, and has charge of the speedway in East End Park. The names of the other officers of the county klan cannot be obtained.

tained, but it is known that it was very active for some time. It seems that there was no later organization at Pontotoc similar to those formed at other places in the county.[29]

The first Cherry Creek den was organized soon after General Forrest had organized the den at Pontotoc. This was one of the strongest and most useful dens in the county. Soon after its abandonment, a second den was organized, composed mostly of boys and young men, who sought to bring themselves in favor with the people. Many of them became candidates for office as soon as an opportunity presented itself.[30]

In 1871 or 1873 this second den at Cherry Creek made a raid to Pontotoc, for the purpose, we are told, of informing Col. R. W. Flournoy that he must desist from publishing his paper, *Equal Rights*. Others say that they intended to whip or hang Colonel Flournoy and destroy his press. Still another story claims that the den came "to attend to" Colonel Flournoy and to two Northern white women (Sarah Cole and Patty Day) who were teaching negro schools at Pontotoc. A fourth account explains that they merely wished to show the Radicals of the county that they could go to Pontotoc.

A letter written by Judge Austin Pollard concerning the event is here reproduced. Judge Pollard was Chancery Judge of the district and was holding court at Pontotoc at the time. It read as follows:

"I only know that there was such an organization (Ku Klux) in Pontotoc County, the membership being for the most part at a village between Pontotoc and New Albany, Cherry Creek, I think it is. As to who composed it I only know of one man, Joe Dillard, by name, who was killed in a raid on Pontotoc one night, late in 1870 or early in 1871. That occurred while I was holding Chancery Court of the county at that place. The occasion I remember well. It was late at night when a hunting party, of which I was one, had returned and was enjoying a game of cards in the Sheriff's room of the jail. The foreman of Colonel Flournoy's paper came where we were, very much frightenend and said, 'Boys, by G-d they are here!' He was asked 'Who!' when he replied, 'The Ku Klux.' We all got out guns and went out to or near the courthouse where we were joined by quite a lot of the citizens of Pontotoc. We then went in the direction of where they were last seen and halted in the street, west,

[29] Statements of Lieut. D. T. Pitts, W. F. Pitts, Mr. Mounce, M. Andrews and Judge A. Pollard.

[30] Statements of Abbot Spencer, B. B. Fountaine and R. A. Wingo.

I think, of the courthouse. It was near an old blacksmith shop or woodwork shop, which was the end of the party on the north. I was one of their party. Soon we heard voices in imitation of the bellowing of a bull followed by the advances of the K. K. crowd coming from a back street toward us. I handed the gun I had to one of our party and walked out in the middle of the road or street when I said if their mission was one of amusement only, to come in and let us join them, if on the other hand they intended violence on any one or more, that, in the name and by the authority I had, I demanded them to surrender and that I had the legal right to do so. Then about 200 more had come in sight and my orders were answered by a discharge of pistol shots, some of which came near me. This was answered by the firing of guns from the citizens and officers. I do not know who fired except that it came from our side.

"At this they (the K. K. K.) wheeled and fled in the direction of the place from which they came. Shortly afterwards I heard the firing of some guns at the end of the street on which the K. K. went, toward Aberdeen from where we were, then all was quiet the rest of the night. After they had gone, this last party brought in a horse covered with fancy calicoes and domestic and the man Joe Dillard, who was alive. I tried to learn from him who some of the klan were, after telling him that the doctor (Dr. Walker) said that he was going to die. Then he repeated several times to me and others that he did not know; that they came to his home after dark, called him out and made him put on the mask we found on him (black calico covering his body and head). I examined his clothes and found a pocket-book or purse containing only his registration paper. He died just before day the next morning and his body was carried to Cherry Creek for burial. Of course, there was much excitement all over the county the next day, so I learned, and I had a telegram sent to Governor Alcorn for troops. They came in a few days, but by this time quietness had prevailed. I continued to hold court until through, went home to Okolona and with that my connection with the opposition to K. K. ceased. I never could learn the name of any one of the klan (save as stated) nor where they were located, except by the burial of Dillard at Cherry Creek, which was largely attended."

The leaders of the den who made the raid are not known. Col. C. D. Fountaine said that if he had been in town when the Ku Klux came he could have prevented the difficulty. He further stated that the people from Cherry Creek had no right to make the raid, that if the citizens of Pontotoc could live with Flournoy in their midst, the people of the county should have let him alone. Colonel Flournoy was appointed United States Commissioner, and indictments were filed by the Federal grand jury at Oxford against almost all the principal citizens of the Cherry Creek community. As a result of his efforts to punish the members of the Ku Klux Klan the men who were suspected were put to considerable expense and great annoyance before their cases were finally thrown out of court.

A bill of indictment was filed against Charles D. Fountaine, Jr., by Colonel Flournoy, and when he was on trial it was learned that he was secretary of the Pontotoc Klan. Judge H. A. Hill tried to make him tell where the constitution and minutes of the klan were. This the secretary refused to do. The Judge ordered him put in prison for contempt of court. But finding that this would do no good, the Judge ordered that the prisoner be released. Before appearing at court, C. D. Fountaine had given the minute book to a lady friend, who afterwards became his wife, and she gave it to another member of the local den. Elijah Smith, of Cherry Creek, a man of spotless character, was put in prison at Pontotoc and kept there for several days, when he was finally bound over to the United States Court.[31]

During the existence of many of the later dens horrible crimes were committed by private parties and laid to the charge of the klan. In the neighborhood of Cherry Creek a woman was murdered and thrown into a well. The husband claimed that the Ku Klux came to murder him and his wife, but failed to find him. Jake Stark, a very corpulent negro of the community, was charged with burglary. The Ku Klux took him to the woods and fastened him to the ground and told him that they were going to eat him. The negro was scared out of his wits, and afterwards claimed that he felt them biting the flesh from his bones. Many of the citizens say that the number of people whipped and murdered by this local den was greatly exaggerated.

The den at Lafayette Springs, consisting of men of Lafayette and Pontotoc Counties, was organized by General Featherstun, of Holly Springs, soon after the surrender. During the period when the ex-Confederate soldiers constituted this den it was a great blessing to the community. Few negroes were whipped and no murders were committed. But when the young men later organized their den, innocent negroes were mistreated on account of personal grudges. Jim Aycock, a worthy, hard-working negro, lived on a small farm near Lafayette Springs. One year he made a good crop of corn and cotton, which was coveted by three or four sons of a white man living near. These sons

[31] Mr. Smith served two or more terms as Treasurer of the county.

were despicable characters, and for frivolous reasons raised a difficulty with Aycock. One night they, with some of their associates, disguised in Ku Klux uniforms, visited Aycock and cut him almost to death, leaving him in what they thought was a dying condition. It is charged that they committed this dastardly crime with the expectation of taking possession of his crop as soon as he was out of the way.[32]

The Ku Klux den at Toccopola, similar to the one at Lafayette Springs, was a "county line" den, but a majority of its members lived in Pontotoc County. The den was not organized as soon as the other county dens. Although the date of its organization is not known, it was probably as late as 1869. Prof. W. B. Gilmer, an ex-Confederate soldier and a highly respected citizen of the community, had been commissioned by Sheriff McKee, of Lafayette County, to lead the white people and keep the negroes and lawless whites under control. But when the den was organized at Toccopola, Professor Gilmer resigned his position and turned matters over to the clansmen. The membership of this den is thought to have been forty or fifty. Abe Huckleby, a colored man living near Toccopola, was visited one night and shot by the Ku Klux. He had threatened the life of Dr. Winston, a practicing physician and an influential citizen of Toccopola, who had been indicted by the Federal grand jury at Oxford for being a member of the klan.[33] Further information concerning the history of the Toccopola den could not be obtained.[34]

The Sarepta den, in the extreme southwestern part of the county, was organized in 1868 and continued to be an active force until the early seventies. The village of Sarepta is situated in Calhoun County, but the den was organized in Pontotoc County and its members were principally from that county. Dr. W. B. Clark, a Confederate soldier and a true friend of the

[32] Statements of Shelton Trelkeld and W. B. Gilmer.

[33] Although the testimony which led to the indictment was given by a negro, Dr. Winston was convicted and fined upon his own testimony in the trial. Afterwards the negro became sick and sent for Dr. Winston, who administered to his wants, knowing that he would never receive any pay for his services.

[34] The facts about the Toccopola den were obtained from Prof. W. B. Gilmer, Miss M. J. Alexander, W. S. Pickens and B. B. Fountaine.

South, was Cyclops of this den. He had been a lieutenant in the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment. The den at Sarepta had a membership of seventy-five or eighty men and the following women: Mrs. W. B. Clarke, wife of the Cyclops; Mrs. W. L. Phillips and Mrs. Martha Benson. These women made the uniforms for the members and were usually the hostesses of the den, as most of the meetings were held at one of their homes. They were permitted to learn the signs and passwords and to give them when they met a member.[35]

The voting precinct in this part of the county was at Sanders' Mill, and the Ku Klux exercised such strong authority over the elections that the negroes were not allowed to vote, and in some cases white people who were not Democrats were also denied this privilege. Henwell Tutor, who lived in the community, had enlisted in the Confederate Army, but deserted and went to Memphis after the Federals had taken that place. A small body of Confederate soldiers, stationed in the community near his home, had evaded the Federal forces by keeping themselves hidden in a river bottom. When Tutor arrived at Memphis he reported them, and this was followed by a number of arrests. Some time after the surrender he came home and allied himself with the Republican party, assuming the leadership of the negroes. He persuaded some of the negroes to come to his place and rent land, promising them protection from the whites and the Ku Klux. He kept his gun loaded, and declared that he was prepared to "meet force with force." But the Ku Klux came one night while he was in bed, and when he was aroused by the noise he leaped from the bed and took to the woods as fast as possible, leaving his negro chums to take care of themselves. The opposition against him was so strong that he was forced to stay at home most of the time, going to Sarepta only when he thought few people would be there.

Harry Colums was an impudent negro who had frequently boasted of what he would do, if the Ku Klux should trouble him. The Ku Klux heard of this and visited him one night "to straighten him out" and test his bravery. When they surrounded

[35] Statements of W. L. Phillips and Mrs. L. W. Phillips.

his house he threw down his gun and ran to the home of a white man, living nearby, knocked down the door and jumped on the bed occupied by the man and his wife.

During the reconstruction period a carpetbagger named Railsback was a candidate for United States Senate in opposition to Col. R. A. Pinson, of the Democratic party. Col. R. W. Flournoy was one of Railsback's campaign managers. They made a canvassing tour throughout the county. After speaking at Sarepta, they went home with Dr. Curr and put up for the night. At a late hour in the night the Ku Klux went to the home of Dr. Curr and called for his guests. When they came out of the house they were fired at several times. They immediately caught their horses and left for Pontotoc.

There was a number of murders and vile deeds committed in the community, the majority of them by negroes. A good and respectable white citizen of the community by the name of Ragland was murdered by one of his former slaves, who thought he could get possession of his victim's money.

The Sarepta den made frequent raids into Lafayette County, giving aid to the white people of "Yocona bottom," the village of Dallas and other places. These raids were made because there were many despicable and troublesome negroes living in these communities, especially in the bottom. There was very little lawlessness committed by the Sarepta den. A large per cent of its members were of a settled and conservative frame of mind. The men of this stamp kept the younger members from committing rash deeds.

It is said that there were dens at Chesterville, Troy, Red Land and in the southern part of the county, but no definite information could be obtained concerning them. It is also said that the Chesterville den worked in connection with the clansmen of Cherry Creek and Oak Hill.[36]

Religious Condition of the Freedmen.

The religious activities of the Freedmen at Pontotoc were

[36] Statements of W. F. Pitts, John Grisham, W. R. Pitts, Col. James B. Gordon and J. W. Campbell.

usually under the supervision of the white people of the place. The pastors and leading men of the different white churches "took their turn" in preaching to the negroes and instructing them in religious matters.[37] Rev. Stewart, of the Presbyterian and Rev. Blackburn, of the Methodist Churches, were particularly active in religious work among the negroes, as was also Colonel Flournoy. Soon after the surrender the colored people had a number of their own people set apart for the ministry. Jack Dent, Jess Fountaine, Ned Hanis, Nathan Dandridge and Frank H. Chisholm were considered among their best preachers.[37]

Under the leadership of Billie Gilmore, the negroes organized a Mutual Aid Society, the purpose of which was the betterment of the freedmen and the establishment of their rights. This society was given a place for meeting in the basement of the white Methodist Episcopal Church. They had their religious meetings in this basement also, when the weather was not favorable for meetings under brush arbors. After a number of years they built churches of their own. They were aided in this work by white citizens, the foremost being Colonel Flournoy. He gave them money for educational, religious and charitable purposes. Frank H. Chisholm was the most highly respected colored person at Pontotoc. He was a son of a slave of Patrick Henry, of Virginia. He accomplished more than any other negro in putting down strife and enmity between the two races. He was respected by the whites and had great influence among the blacks. Through his instrumentality his people received much financial support in carrying on their church work.

At Toccopola the freedmen, who had formerly worshipped with their white masters, ceased to avail themselves of this privilege after the war. They, therefore, had no public worship, except when their former masters or other persons concerned in their welfare went to their houses and conducted prayer meetings for them.[38] In the seventies they were given a building site one mile west of Toccopola upon which they erected a log church

[37] Peter Bradford (col.), B. B. Fountaine, Abbot Spencer and W. A. Donaldson.

[38] Statements of Abbot Spencer, Miss M. J. Alexander, J. F. Rodgers and W. B. Gilmer.

called "county line" or "Black Jack."[39] Ben Harvell, an ex-slave of the community, became their first pastor. He was known as "Old Uncle Ben," and was a good old "darkey." He professed to cure disease by faith. His followers thought he possessed this power and they had unlimited confidence in him. They claimed that he had the power to remove warts and the like from people and live stock by rubbing his hand over them. He continued to preach at or near Toccopola until his death, thirty or thirty-five years later.

Educational Conditions.

The educational conditions of the county during the latter part of the war and for a number of years thereafter were extremely poor and unsatisfactory. When a county is torn up and disarranged economically very little can be expected along educational lines. Before the war closed and for some time afterwards most of the schools were taught by patriotic white women and a few Confederate soldiers who had been disabled and had returned home. These schools were composed of children of families living near the places where they were taught, private dwellings being used for this purpose when a schoolhouse was not available. They were subscription schools and lasted only a few months each year. In 1865 and 1866 there were some schools supported by the county. The following school statistics are given in this connection:

1. At Pisgah Church, from April 1, 1865, to January 1, 1866, C. D. Bateman teacher, fifteen pupils at seven and one-half cents each a week; from January 1, 1866, to July 1, 1866, seven pupils at seven and one-half cents each.

2. At Scott Schoolhouse, from September 1, 1865, to January 1, 1866, J. C. Bolton teacher, four pupils at ten cents each; from February 1, 1866, to June 1, 1866, eleven pupils at seven and one-half cents.

3. At Bethel Schoolhouse from July 1, 1865, to January 1,

[39] The ground was given to them by Frank Souter, a prosperous merchant and miller at Toccopola. At the time of the surrender he was a member of the Board of Police from the Third District.

1866, W. E. Baker teacher, eighteen pupils at seven and one-half cents each.

4. At Hickory Grove Church in 1866, Anderson Cochram teacher, twenty-four pupils at ten cents each.

5. At Antioch Church in 1865, J. W. Combs teacher, thirty-six pupils at seven and one-half cents each.

6. At Sardis Church in 1865, A. J. Cochram teacher, eleven pupils at seven and one-half cents each.

7. At New Schoolhouse in 1866, W. A. Dye teacher, forty pupils at seven and one-half cents each.

8. At Union Academy in 1866, Mrs. A. A. Corrol teacher, four pupils at $1.50 each a month.

9. At Elbethel Church in 1866, W. M. Fuller teacher, twenty-four pupils at twelve and one-half cents each.

10. At Mrs. Ginlan's dwelling from January 1 to July 1, 1866, Mary F. Coffee teacher, five pupils at ten cents each.

11. At Mrs. Mattox's dwelling in 1865, Mary E. Coffee teacher, nine pupils at fifteen cents each.[40]

This system of schools was not continued longer than January, 1867. In 1864 the Board of Police appointed one citizen from each district as a School Commissioner. It seems that these commissioners received no pay for their services until the county went under Radical rule. Then the employing of commissioners became very expensive to the county.

At the meeting of the Board of Police, February 7, 1871, the following allowances were made for services and mileage of school directors: W. G. Jumper, $74; W. C. Gambrel, $75; T. E. Montgomery, $68; St. Clair Lawrence, $77; A. M. Mayhew, $63; Sawney Barr (colored), $50; T. B. Wilson, Secretary, $39. These were the largest amounts paid out of the county funds at one time to school commissioners, but the records show that, in general, commissioners were paid extravagant amounts.

A few years after the surrender free schools were established in the county, these schools being maintained and supported by the common county fund. County warrants were issued in pay-

[40] County Records, Miss M. J. Alexander, Prof. W. B. Gilmer, D. C. M. Bigham, Minutes of Board of Police.

ment of the salaries of free school teachers. According to the testimony of many reliable men of the county, a few dishonest men got control of the easily-managed members of the Board of Police and induced them to forbid the payment of money on the school warrants, on the pretence that there was a deficiency in the county funds. These men would then buy the warrants at a large discount. Part of the time school warrants sold for less than fifty cents on the dollar, and as a general thing from sixty-five to seventy-five cents. The men who got possession of the warrants were promptly paid face value for them out of the county funds. These and other frauds caused the educational activities in the county to be greatly hampered.[41]

Sawney Barr was the first Superintendent of Education in Pontotoc County. He was a big, black negro, a blacksmith by trade. During the war he worked in a blacksmith shop at Pontotoc, shoeing horses for both armies. He was put in the office through the influence of white Republicans. Barr managed educational affairs to the best of his ability, but was ignorant and wholly incompetent.[42]

The town of Pontotoc then had the best educational advantages to be had in the county. There were two institutions for the education of white children at that place. They were the Pontotoc Presbyterian Female Institute (now Chickasaw Female College) and the Pontotoc Male Academy. The former school was founded by the Chickasaw Presbytery in 1843, and was chartered in 1852. It is the oldest college for women in Mississippi, and has the oldest alumnæ association of any college in the State. The effects of the war were very trying on this institution, yet it had a wide field of usefulness during the reconstruction days. Professor Conkey was president of this college at the close of the war. On August 5, 1867, he was succeeded by Rev. O. D. West. At the close of the session of 1867-68 there were seven students who received diplomas. Rev. D. T. Witherspoon succeeded Rev. O. D. West as president January 20, 1872, and continued in that office until May 31, 1877, being succeeded by Prof.

[41] Statements of a number of reliable citizens.
[42] Statement of J. H. Rowzee.

W. V. Frierson.[43] A detailed history of the Pontotoc Male Academy cannot now be obtained, yet this institution was a great educational factor during the reconstruction period. Many students there received instruction, which enabled them to enter the freshman class at the University of Mississippi.[44]

The colored schools at or near Pontotoc were taught by both white and black teachers. Some of the white citizens contended that the negro schools should be taught by the native white people rather than by carpetbaggers and negroes from other parts of the country. But the native whites who taught negro schools were ostracised. Bill Newton and a Mr. Black taught negro schools at Pontotoc for a time, but public sentiment became so strong against them that they were forced to resign.[45]

Two Northern women, Sarah Cole and Polly Day, came to Pontotoc to organize negro schools. These women boarded in the home of Frank H. Chisholm (colored) and advocated and taught social equality. They were notorious characters. In order to increase their revenues they sold their pictures at one dollar each to the pupils and patrons of the schools. Each of these teachers received a salary of $100 a month for her services. Sarah Cole was courted by a negro named Henry Wright, who was better looking than the rest of the negroes. Wright afterwards married the daughter of a slave of the illustrious statesman, Patrick Henry. Some of the old negroes say that these white teachers accomplished more towards the advancement of the negroes and taught them better than any other teachers of the time. But their general conduct became so odious that the white people forced them to leave the country. Mr. and Mrs. French taught the negroes at Pontotoc after the white women left. They boarded with Wren Grant (colored).

The negroes had a number of preachers, speakers and politicians of their own color at Pontotoc. They considered Jack Dent their most influential leader and preacher. He and Wren Grant, Harry Weatherall and Ned Harris were regarded as the

[43] Miss Lizzie Barr, M. J. Alexander, Minutes of the Board of Trustees.
[44] Statements of D. C. M. Bigham, Prof. W. B. Gilmer.
[45] Statements of Abbot Spencer, Miss M. J. Alexander, B. B. Fountaine, Peter Bradford and the wife of Frank Chisholm (colored).

most eloquent colored preachers in the county. They frequently addressed the negroes on the subject of education, politics and citizenship at the courthouse, at barbecues and on other occasions.

Soon after the war the negroes organized a "line school" between Pontotoc and Lafayette Counties, near Lafayette Springs. This school was taught by a negro from Illinois named Willis Rogers. He was almost as ignorant as some of the pupils he taught, but he did not teach principles that would cause trouble between the two races. Many of the people opposed the idea of educating the colored people, and Rogers was persuaded to resign and leave the county. A white man by the name of James Hipp taught a negro school in the Sanders Mill community, two miles east of Sarepta.[46]

Economic Conditions.

The economic condition of Pontotoc County after the war was indeed poor and completely despairing. Its citizens who returned from the army confronted not only the problems of social and civil chaos, but the problem of wresting a livelihood from an impoverished land, equipped all too inadequately to accomplish satisfactory results. But they "crossed swords with adversity" and climbed steadily towards success.

Pontotoc County furnished 3,500 soldiers to the war, and at its conclusion there were 4,000 or 5,000 women and children in destitute circumstances. The Board of Police, therefore, asked Gov. Charles Clark to remove the corn and bacon tax in the county. The horses, cattle, hogs and poultry had been carried away by the ravagers. It is said that the only thing of this kind left in many cases was a chicken or two, and sometimes a mule that had escaped from the raiders and had run loose in the canebrakes or fields.[47]

The fences were down and the roads and bridges almost impassable. The people's only hope of subsistence was from cul-

[46] Statements of Shelton Threlkeld and W. L. Phillips.
[47] Statements of Lieut. D. T. Pitts, Col. James Gordon, Abbot Spencer, B. B. Fountaine, Miss M. J. Alexander, Minutes of the Board of Police.

tivating the soil. Yet this was hard to do, because many of the men were crippled or sick and their former laborers "were drunk with an intoxication of misunderstood freedom."

The credit system was unsatisfactory. Prices were high, horses and cattle, especially work-stock, were almost out of reach. There was little meat in the country for months at a time, and when there was some to sell the people were too poor to buy it. It is said that the people would go fishing and catch a nice string of fish, but did not have enough grease to fry them.

Cotton sold from forty to sixty-five cents a pound just after the war. It then dropped to twenty cents and remained near that price for a number of years. Corn easily brought from a dollar to a dollar and a half a bushel. Bread made from wheat flour was a rarety. The children were glad when Sunday morning came, as that was the time they usually had biscuit. Shoemakers or cobblers supplied the people with most of the shoes that were worn, and these were of a rather coarse grade. The leather was tanned by the local tanner. A true story is told of a young man who accompanied a young lady to church. He possessed a pair of shoes which he considered to be finer than the ordinary. When he left home he tied them together and threw them across his shoulder, carrying them thus until he and the young lady came near the church, when he put them on.[48]

Pine knots and homemade tallow candles usually furnished light for the dwelling. Starch was made from wheat flour. Most of the clothing was made from homespun cloth. Nearly all the silverware had been taken away by Northern soldiers. Feather beds were scarce, many of them having been cut open and destroyed by the Yankees.

There were a number of saddle and harness makers in the county, who supplied the people with most of the necessary things along their lines. Farming equipments were poor and unsatisfactory. Many of the poorer people used carts, the wheels of which were blocks sawed from the trunks of large trees.

After the negroes were freed, many of them left their former

[48] Statements of Shelton Threlkeld, John Grisham and W. F. Pitts.

masters, some of them going to the towns nearby, others moving on the places of white men of the Radical party. For a time it was impossible to get them to do work of any kind, having been made by the Radicals and some office-seekers to believe that they would receive forty acres of land and a mule. But all of these expectations having met with disappointment, some of the freedmen reluctantly went back to the land-owning white people to get work.

There were four kinds of labor contract at that time. They were: (1) The half system; (2) the third and fourth, or rent system; (3) the hireling system; and (4) the apprentice system.

Under the half system, the landlord furnished to the laborer (usually negroes and poorer white people) land, farming implements, work stock, feed and a home, and received one-half of the crop produced.

Under the third and fourth, or rent system, the landlord furnished the land only and received one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn (which were the principal products raised), or was paid a certain amount per acre.

Under the hireling system the employee received from ten to fifteen dollars a month for his services.

The apprentice system, or "bound over" system, applied only to former slaves who were not of age when the other slaves were set free. They were bound by law to some landlord, for whom they were to work until they became of age. Then they were to receive a horse, saddle and bridle and be set free. This law applied to young negroes whose parents were dead or were not able to support them. The system was strenuously opposed by the Radicals at Pontotoc, who acted as representatives of the Freedmen's Bureau, and when the county went under Radical rule the law was declared null and void. In some cases the Radicals in the county persuaded the negro apprentices to leave their employers. When they were brought back the authorities often forced the persons to whom they were bound to let them go free.[49]

[49] This was the case with the negroes who were bound to Mrs. M. D. Alexander, who lived in the western part of the county near Toccopola.

Some of the freedmen assumed an humble attitude towards their former masters throughout the reconstruction period. They settled down to hard work and soon became "good livers," and some of them land owners.

There was little money in circulation during the period. Many people who owned large tracts of land, were unable to cultivate them, and the cost of labor and the high taxes were sources of great concern.

It is not known how much land was sold for taxes, but the old citizens say that a large amount went in this way. The number of acres held in 1871 for taxes was 25,305 acres, valued at $76,901. There were 326,273 acres taxable in that year. Col. C. D. Fountaine lost seven sections in the Mississippi Delta, and Col. James Gordon and Henry Duke lost large amounts in Pontotoc County on account of excessive taxation.

APPENDIX A.

I. Members of the Boards of Police and Boards of Supervisors.

1864.	1866.
Joseph A. Robins	G. G. Horton
J. L. Rivers	S. M. Roberson
Frank Souter	J. A. Robins
T. A. Mitchell	W. B. Hooker
G. G. Horton	E. Herring

1867.	1869.
W. M. Neely	J. W. Bowen
W. B. Hooker	R. A. Langston
D. S. Purvine	J. M. Higler
J. A. Robins	W. W. Dowdy.
Thos. Stockstill	John Cheney

1870.	1871.
W. M. Neely	N. J. Gibson
J. J. Hunter	J. J. Hunter
O. P. Wingo	J. W. Pitts
Sam Duke (colored)	A. J. Moone
Ed Miller (colored)	O. P. Wingo

1872.	1874.
J. W. Pitts	J. M. Hoyle
W. L. Souter	C. C. Malone
J. M. Williams	W. P. Hooper
R. A. Miller	J. M. Williams
A. J. Moone	A. J. Moone

1876.

J. W. Pitts	J. W. Combs
T. H. Griffin	W. L. Norwood

II. Senators and Representatives.

J. W. Willis, 1861-62.
B. A. Rogers, 1861-62.
C. F. Bowles, 1861-62.
John McNeil, 1863-64.
Samuel Pinson, 1863-64.
Jefferson Wilson, 1858-68.
B. F. McWarter, 1859, 62, 65, 66, 67, 76, 77.
J. L. Morphis, 1865, 66, 67.
J. M. Burton, 1865, 66, 67.
S. H. Wood, 1870-71.
C. B. Mitchell, 1870, 71, 88, 94.
J. C. Shoup, 1870.
W. L. Lyles, 1871-74.
C. O. Potter, 1872-73.
C. R. Wharton, 1872-73.
Thos. Stockstill, 1874-75.
G. G. Horton, 1876-77.

APPENDIX B.

Table I. Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in Pontotoc County in 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 1,000	Total Slaveholders	Total Slaves
149	94	77	71	51	45	44	44	35	87	55	54	16	17	12	.....	.....	.....	851	7,596

Table II. Population of Pontotoc County, 1860-1880.

	White			Colored			Total Population	Males Twenty Years and Over		Total Male Citizens 21 Years and Over
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Free	Slaves	Total		White	Colored	
1860.....	14,460	53	14,513	4	7,596	7,600	22,113	3,202	1,470	.....
1870.....	9,479	16	9,513	3,012	.....	3,012	12,525	.....	.....	2,385
1880.....	9,590	19	9,609	4,249	.....	4,249	13,858	.....	.....	2,802

TABLE III. NATIVITY OF POPULATION OF PONTOTOC COUNTY IN 1870-1880.

	NATIVE											FOREIGN						
	Born in Mississippi	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and W. Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	North Carolina	Louisiana	Kentucky	Arkansas	Total	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Germany	Scotland	Sweden and Norway	Total
1870....	7,882	1,262	1,096	217	646	596	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,509	1	10	3	1	1	.....	16
1880....	10,308	1,301	799	154	465	363	297	6	59	33	13,839	3	3	8	2	.....	3	19

TABLE IV. POPULATION OF MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS OF PONTOTOC COUNTY IN 1870-1880.

1870....	Pontotoc (White, 239; Negroes, 145).....	384	1880....	Beat 4, Pontotoc (including Chesterville, 39, and Pontotoc Town, 447).....	3,801
1880	Beat 1, Cherry Creek.....	2,379		Beat 5, Red Land.....	3,269
	Beat 2, Buttermilk Springs.....	1,932			
	Beat 3, Randolph.....	2,477			

TABLE V. FARMS CONTAINING THREE ACRES AND MORE IN PONTOTOC COUNTY IN 1860-1880.

	Under 3	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over
1860.....	.....	8	33	144	172	271	28	10
1870.....	....	79	610	1,103	294	65	1	....
1880	2	32	342	470	462	696	23	9

TABLE VI. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Area in Square Miles	FARMS								
		Number	Average In Acres	TOTAL ACREAGE.		Value of Farms	Cultivated by Owner	Rented for Fixed Money Rental	Rented on Shares
				Improved	Unimproved				
1860	.....	666	.....	145,546	321,967	$4,264,377	.....	.....	.....
1870	.....	2,152	.....	67,209	168,953	1,160,335	.....	.....	.....
1880	530	2,036	110	75,395	149,029	1,071,453	1,212	225	599

	PRODUCTS												
	COTTON		CORN		OATS		WHEAT		Molasses Gallons	Sweet Potatoes—Bushels	Butter—Pounds	Value of all Farm Products	Value of all Live Stock
	Acres	Bales	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels					
1860	.....	24,258	.....	1,012,328	.....	3,154	.....	44,573	.....	117,422	.....	.....	$1,360,706
1870	.....	4,524	.....	371,719	.....	.....	.....	13,057	16,923	31,408	66,266	$940,724[1]	597,551
1880	21,448	8,085	26,588	414,335	2,109	18,826	2,751	14,692	40,706	.....	183,476	677,889	351,272

[1] This includes "betterments and additions to stock."

TABLE VII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Establishments	Capital in Dollars	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS			Total Amount Paid in Wages Annually	Cost of Materials	Value of Products
			Males Above 16	Females Above 15	Children and Youths			
1860	20	65,000	85	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	30	28,775	62	.....	.....	$6,505	$49,878	$86,690
1880	13	28,260	33	.....	2	2,738	30,904	39,885

TABLE VIII. SELECTED MANUFACTURES OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	KINDS OF ESTABLISHMENTS	Number	Capital in Dollars	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS			Annual Cost of Labor	Cost of Raw Material Annually	Value of Products in Dollars
				Males Above 16	Females Above 15	Children and Youths			
1860	Boots and Shoes	3	1,800	15	.....	.....	$ 5,160	$ 7,750	14,180
	Carriages	2	11,500	17	.....	.....	7,200	5,800	18,000
	Flour and Meal	3	25,800	14	1	.....	3,480	45,500	57,990
	Furniture, Cabinet	1	2,010	2	.....	.....	900	975	2,100
	Leather	1	4,500	3	.....	.....	900	2,500	5,000
	Lumber, Sawed	3	6,800	12	.....	.....	2,664	2,400	7,627
	Saddles and Harness	2	6,100	10	.....	.....	3,600	3,800	9,790
	Tin, Copper and Sheet Iron Ware	2	3,000	4	.....	.....	1,080	1,200	4,500
	Wagons, Carts, etc	2	2,500	6	.....	.....	1,800	2,266	4,900
	Wool Carding	1	1,000	2	.....	.....	480	3,200	4,000
	Total	20	65,000	85	1	.....	$27,264	$75,391	128,087
1870[1]	Flour Mills	5	9,800	9	.....	.....	$ 530	$24,000	27,560
	Lumber, Sawed	2	8,000	15	.....	.....	4,000	15,700	32,500
	Total	7	15,800	24	1	.....	$4,530	$39,700	60,060
1880[2]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] All industries with a gross annual production of less than $10,000, except "neighborhood industries" producing as much as $2,500 annually, are omitted.

[2] All counties with a gross production of less than $100,000 annually, and all industries producing less than $20,000 annually, are omitted.

TABLE IX. ASSESSED VALUATION, TAXES AND INDEBTEDNESS OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION			TAXATION				PUBLIC DEBT				
	Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	State	County	City, Town, or Village	Total	Bonded Debt	Floating Debt	Gross Debt	Sinking Fund	Net Debt
1860	$5,118,027	$10,755,681	$15,873,708									
1870	1,988,885	1,472,370	3,461,255	$22,313	$33,120		$55,433					
1880	724,779	304,378	1,029,157	5,274	14,539		19,813		$12,000	$12,000		$12,000

TABLE X. SCHOOLS AND WHITE AND NEGRO ILLITERACY IN PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1870.

					SCHOOL ATTENDANCE							Cannot Read—10 and Over	CANNOT WRITE											
								WHITE		COLORED			WHITE						COLORED					
													10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over		10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over	
	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils	Total Cost of Schools	Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1860	22	23	578	17,528																				
1870					272	272		139	108	9	16	2,770	264	187	171	151	246	373	241	194	195	216	443	556

TABLE XI. CHURCHES IN PONTOTOC COUNTY, 1860-1870.

	BAPTIST			METHODIST			PRESBYTERIAN			EPISCOPAL			CHISTIAN			CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN		
	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property
1860....	25	10,965	$17,950	16	3,800	$5,150	6	2,248	$8,150	1	.....	$1,600	1	300	$250	7	2,240	$3,300
1870....	28	8,400	.....	19	4,200	.....	16[1]	5,150	.....	1	300	.....	1	250	.....	.....	.....	.....

[1] The statistics of the Presbyterian and Cumberland Presbyterian Churches are combined in the Census Reports of 1870.

RECONSTRUCTION IN LEAKE COUNTY.

By Miss Nannie Lacey.[1]

Leake County was established December 23, 1833, being one of the sixteen counties created at that time from the final cession of the Choctaw Indians, under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit. It was named for Governor Walter Leake, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1817, United States Senator, and twice Governor of the State.

The county is an exact square. It is located a little south of the center of the State. It is bounded on the north by Attala, on the east by Neshoba, on the south by Scott, and on the west by Madison. Leake County contains sixteen townships or 570 square miles. Pearl River runs through the county from northeast to southwest. Until 1906 this river was considered navigable and boats went up as far as Edinburg, which is on the eastern border of the county.

The tributaries of the Pearl, within the boundary of the county, are Yokanokany, Yellow, Young Warrior, Lobutcher and Standing Pine Creeks. Carthage, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county, one mile north of Pearl River. The original name of this town was Leakeville. It was changed to Carthage July 31, 1834. Other towns and villages are Walnut Grove, Good Hope, Lena, Conway, Dossville, Edinburg and Thomastown. As there are no railroads in the county, most of the marketing is done through Canton, Kosciusko and Philadelphia.

The surface is rolling and hilly. A large section is composed of level swamp lands which are extremely productive. The hill

---

[1] This contribution is the result of seminary work in the Department of History in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1909-'10.

Miss Lacey's paternal ancestors settled in South Carolina at an early date. The most celebrated representative of this family was Colonel Lacey, who served under Sumter and distinguisheed himself at King's Mountain.

Miss Lacey's paternal ancestors, the Graysons, first settled in Virginia. —Editor.

lands are of clay and decomposed sandstone, which gives a striking red color to the soil. The products are cotton, corn, sorghum, sugar-cane, potatoes, fruits and vegetables. The short leaf pine is the principal source of timber in the hill section, with oak, hickory, cypress, beech and poplar in the river and creek bottoms. The 1900 census shows that about one-third of the land was improved.

The original settlers of Leake County were of Scotch-Irish descent, coming to the State mostly from South Carolina and Georgia, though some of them came from Tennessee and Kentucky. Among the earliest settlers may be numbered the families of the Harpers, Warners, Freeneys, Dicksons, Eads, Vanansdales, Beamans, Seviers and Donalds. A number of the Choctaw Indians made Leake County their permanent home, and a few of their descendants are still scattered throughout the county.

At the outbreak of the War of Secession, the citizens of Leake County were not long in enlisting in the various regiments formed in the State. Many went never to return, and many of those who reached their old home after the surrender showed signs of having been in the thick of the fight. As one expressed it, "The call of Alphine leaders never brought forth more valiant men." Those who returned found that their battles were, so to speak, only just begun. Leake County had escaped the devastating raids of the war, but many of its homes had fallen to wreck and ruin.

Most of its wealth had been in slaves or land. The more wealthy men, however, held between fifty to seventy slaves. After the war, most of the negroes left their old masters, and those who remained refused to work. They were waiting for the "forty acres and a mule" from the Federal Government.

The reconstruction history of Leake County was very mild compared with that of some of the other counties in the State. The carpetbaggers did not play so prominent a part in her history, and Democratic rule was fully regained as early as 1872.

Up to this time there had been no newspaper published in the

county. In 1872 Mr. L. M. Garret began to publish the *Carthagenian*, which he continued to edit until his death in 1902.[2]

Government.

The Board of Police in 1865 was composed of the following men: D. S. McDonald, M. H. Mann, Robert Bain, B. S. Rushing. Beat One was not represented on account of the death of C. C. Allen until George Gray was elected to fill his place. John B. Gregsby was Chancery Clerk and Allen J. Parrot, Sheriff. Both these men were staunch citizens, as were the other members of the board. They were capable of handling with ease the affairs of the county, but they were not destined to continue long in office. In October Provisional Governor W. L. Sharkey ordered the Sheriff to hold a general election for county and beat officers to fill their unexpired terms, their election having been declared illegal because it was held under Confederate authority.

The members elected at this time were to serve until January, 1867. They were all Democrats and upright men. The records show no corrupt or illegal action taken by this board during its term of service. The appropriations for bridge building and for keeping the paupers seem to have been reasonable. Attala and Leake Counties constituted a senatorial district, which was represented in the State Senate by W. S. Land. He was a Democrat and a good man. The representative in the lower house from 1864 to 1867 was J. A. Hansom, a Republican.

The members of the Board of Police elected in 1867 were all men of splendid executive ability, honesty and integrity. They were members of the Democratic party, with the exception of Rushing, who was a Republican. The only appropriation made by them, which could be criticized in the least or called extravagant, was that of building a bridge across Lobutcher. For this purpose they appropriated $1,440 and awarded the contract to Joel Cato. Although the work cost about $440 more

[2] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 280; Crider's Mississippi Geological Survey, and statements made by D. F. Cadenhead, George Edwards and Mrs. M. M. Hill.

than it should have cost, there seems to have been no intentional fraud perpetrated. It is supposed that the contract was given to the lowest bidder and that Cato's bid at $1,440 was the lowest submitted.

In January, 1869, their term of office expired, but no successors had been elected or appointed. The laws of the State provide that in such cases the former officers shall continue to hold office. The officers who were finally appointed and took the oath of office in July, 1869, were all Republicans.

Berthur Warren, Chancery Clerk, was a carpetbagger. He came to the county about 1867, and stayed until 1870. He had many friends in the county and was generally considered to be a good, reliable man, even though he was an office-seeker. While in office he filled the position well.

There is no record of a meeting of the board in September, 1870. By the November term of that year, W. H. Wood had been appointed by Governor Adelbert Ames to succeed Charles A. Crane as Sheriff. Wood was the most noted carpetbagger with whom our citizens had to contend. He is usually characterized as a "disreputable scoundrel." In the first months of his official career he made an illegal tax sale, at which he disposed of some land of W. W. Lovorn on which the taxes had been paid regularly. The land was not advertised, but was sold to Colonel J. L. Eads. By producing his tax receipts, Mr. Lovorn was finally able to recover his land. Colonel Eads was the loser by the transaction.[3]

The records show that Wood was present on August 7, 1871. The next record, made for August 21st, contained no mention of a Sheriff; and on the day following, R. I. Williams, a scalawag, was appointed to fill that office. The records give no reason for this appointment or for Wood's absence, but the explanation given below is from good authority.

One morning several men went into the Sheriff's office, where they found Wood tied "hands and feet" with a blind bridle, and fastened to the safe. Everything in the room was in disorder as if there had been a desperate struggle. The vaults of the safe

[3] This information was obtained from Mr. W. W. Lovorn.

were empty. With tears streaming down his cheeks and in a trembling voice, he told his pitiful story. Masked men had rushed upon him, some seized him and bound him while others robbed the safe. $38,000 was missing from the county treasury. No trace of the robbers could be found to substantiate his story, consequently no one believed it. The people expressed their opinion very freely on this subject and some threats were made.[4]

Mr. Bill Cotton, a staunch citizen, and one ever eager to serve his county, had been one of the first to denounce Wood and his tale. A few days after this occurrence, Mr. Cotton went into the Sheriff's office; Wood thought he was after him, drew out a pistol and told him not to come any farther. Mr. Cotton was taken by surprise and retired hastily. As he was going out the door he met Dr. Hector Howard, who exclaimed in a jocular tone of voice, "Well, well, Cotton is declining." Shortly after this Wood disappeared and was never heard of again.

None of the officers by appointment gave official bonds, or if they did the records do not show it. There was, therefore, no way for the county to be reimbursed after Wood's defection.

H. H. Warren, a carpetbagger, was chosen representative, and served as Speaker of the House in 1870 and 1871. His record as an office-holder was well pleasing to his party.

In 1872, after a very strenuous campaign, the Democrats regained control of the county. All the men who went into office at that time were good, staunch citizens, and carpetbag rule was at an end.

None of the elective offices were held by negroes in Leake County. Ned Rushing, a negro Baptist preacher, was on the Board of County Registrars for several years.[5] The white people allowed him to hold this position provided the negroes would not run one of their race for any county office.[6] Harmon Whaling (colored) was elected Justice of the Peace for Beat Three over Frank Taylor in 1866. He never served, but no one seems to know why.

[4] W. R. Lacey, Preston Groves, and W. W. Lovorn are the authorities for these statements.
[5] D. F. Cadenhead furnished this information.
[6] W. R. Allen made this statement.

It is supposed that he was warned in a quiet way that he would better consider the office vacant.[7] King, another negro preacher, received a majority vote for Justice of the Peace in Beat Four, but before the result of the election was made public, the votes were changed by stuffing the ballot box.

A company of negro troops, about one hundred strong, was stationed at Carthage, under the command of a Union officer. The reason for this is not known. They stayed there only thirty days. Their commander at one time asked Miss Jennie Williams to perform on a piano for him, and when she refused, he became very angry. That night her barn and two fine horses were burned. Many suppose the burning was the result of his anger, though there is no proof of that fact.[8]

Parties and Party Leaders.

Among the early settlers of Leake County, there were a number of Old Line Whigs, who later joined the Republican party. The carpetbaggers, scalawags and negro voters outnumbered the Democratic voters by a considerable majority, because a great many of the Democrats had become disfranchised. In spite of this fact, very few Republicans held office by election. They were either counted out or defeated by stuffing the ballot boxes or preventing the negroes from voting by intimidation.

All the Republican officers held office by appointment, except in two instances. H. H. Howard was elected Treasurer and served from 1865 to 1867, and as Superintendent of Education in 1872. D. C. Beauchamp was also elected Circuit Clerk and served from 1865 to 1869. As has been stated above, the Democrats regained control of the county in 1872.

Among the Republican leaders were A. H. and William Bilbo, John A. Hansom, Clint Beauchamp, Henry and Burther Warren, H. H. Howard and Strickland Rushing. The colored leaders were Rev. Ned Rushing, Green Russel, Noah Dismeke.[9]

H. H. Howard, one of the strongest Republican leaders, came

[7] George Edwards (colored) gave this information.
[8] N. E. Walker furnished this information.
[9] This statement was made by D. F. Cadenhead and George Edwards.

to Leake County from Vermont about 1835 and remained a highly honored citizen of this county during the rest of his life. His death occurred at his home in Carthage in 1896. He was one of the staunchest men of the county, and was held in high esteem by all who knew him. He settled at Carthage, the county seat, and soon became thoroughly identified with his neighboring townsmen. He held the position of postmaster here during the War of Secession. At the close of the war he took a decided stand for the Union cause. He became very prominent in organizing and voting the negroes. He urged them forward politically, but not in such a way as to give offense to the white people. Sufficient proof of his good standing and popularity is the fact that he was one of the two Republicans elected to office in this period.[10]

Another Republican leader was John A. Hansom. He came to the county from Pennsylvania several years before the outbreak of hostilities. Before the war he was a member of the Whig party and afterwards became a Republican. Colonel Hansom, as he was called, was a very popular man until he became a Republican. He held the office of Chancery Clerk by appointment from 1870 to 1871. His acceptance of this office killed him politically, yet he was a good officer and served the people faithfully. He died in Leake County in 1872, and is buried in the cemetery at Carthage.[11]

Henry and Berthur Warren, attracted by the reports of abundant opportunity for making money in Mississippi, came to Leake County from Massachusetts in 1866. They were full-fledged Yankees in manner and dialect. Both of them were cultivated gentlemen, one of them (Henry) being a graduate of Yale. Under any other curcumstances they would have been very popular, but all Southerners felt at this time very bitter toward their Northern brothers. But the men now living who opposed them in reconstruction times say that their records as office-holders were all that one could ask.[12]

---

[10] This information was furnished by Newton Walker.
[11] D. F. Cadenhead is authority for this statement.
[12] F. P. Cadenhead gave this information.

Henry Warren was Probate Judge, delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1868, and speaker of the lower house in the Legislature in 1871.[13]

Berthur Warren held the office of Chancery Clerk by appointment from 1869 to 1870.[14]

After the overthrow of the Republicans the Warrens returned to Massachusetts, and it is said that Henry Warren made a fortune operating a tannery. Berthur Warren has since died.[15]

Some of the most prominent leaders of the Democratic party were: Colonel Joseph D. Eads, Major Robert Hall, William Hall, E. F. and E. R. Lacey, Frank and George R. Edwards, D. F. Cadenhead, Dr. B. N. Ward, L. M. Garret, R. L. Wallace and W. B. Allen.

Among the many prominent citizens of Leake County who were natives of the Palmetto State, stands the name R. L. Wallace. He moved to Mississippi in 1846, settled in Leake County and remained there until his death. His son, R. L. Wallace, was elected Circuit Clerk in 1871, and has now served for twenty-two consecutive years in that capacity. He has the enviable and merited reputation of being the best Circuit Clerk in Mississippi and is very popular with the people of the county.[16]

Colonel Joseph D. Eads was among the first to make a settlement at Carthage in 1843. He was born near White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, on March 23, 1817. He studied law in Cincinnati and was admitted to the bar in Indiana in 1840. After locating in Carthage he practiced his profession for fifty-three years. He took no part in the war because he was not able to bear arms. His shoulder had been dislocated and had never been properly replaced. He never held a county office, but by the stand he took, he probably contributed more to the general uplift of the county than did any other one man. He made a record of all the transfers of land in the county from the time

[13] This fact was obtained from R. B. Walker's Ms. "History of Reconstruction in Leake County."

[14] P. F. Cadenhead is authority for this statement.

[15] R. B. Walker's Ms. "History of Reconstruction in Leake County"; also Presley Groves, Mr. Lovern and Mrs. M. M. Halls.

[16] Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 973; Ibid., II, 683; Mrs. S. W. Waggoner.

of its organization. This record is still in existence and is considered very valuable.

Another of the most influential men of the county, who did much to put down carpetbag rule, was R. F. Cadenhead. He was born in March, 1835, in the central part of Georgia. He moved to Leake County in 1854. At the outbreak of the war he was among the first to join a company, made up of citizens of the eastern part of Leake and the western part of Neshoba Counties.

He served faithfully until he lost his left arm. Throughout the reconstruction period he was one of the strongest and bravest heroes in the Democratic ranks. He was elected Tax Assessor in 1871, Chancery Clerk in 1875, and County Treasurer in 1883. He held the last mentioned office for six years. Mr. Cadenhead is now living at his home in Carthage and is nearing his seventy-fifth birthday. He is now in very feeble health. All the people of the county know and love him.

L. M. Garret did much in the conflict against Republican and negro rule in Leake County. He was a native Mississippian, having been born in Canton, January 28, 1845. He fought through the war for States rights. After the surrender he moved to Carthage and established (1872) the first newspaper ever published in Leake County. He continued to edit this paper, *The Carthagenian,* until his death in 1905. He was also on the editorial staff of *The Times-Democrat* for nine months in 1901-'02. He did much for the general uplift of the county from the time he became one its citizens.[17]

A man who holds a high place among the citizens of the county is W. B. Allen. He was born in Putman County, Georgia, November 28, 1844. His parents moved to Leake County in 1845. When he was sixteen years of age he joined the Sixth Mississippi Regiment.

In the reconstruction period, he was as faithful in his efforts to keep the county under Democratic rule as he had been in "fighting for his country on the field of battle." He is still living at his home near McVille and is regarded by all as one of Leake's staunchest citizens.

[17] A. C. Garret furnished the main facts of this sketch.

Another man who served the county faithfully in reconstruction times is Mr. George Edwards. He was born in Georgia in 1844 and came to Leake County in 1845. At the age of seventeen he enlisted in the Confederate Army. After the war he fought nobly for white supremacy, and was rewarded with the election to the office of Chancery Clerk in 1872. He is now living in Jackson, Mississippi, assisting his son, who is State Treasurer.

Colonel R. J. Hall was born in Lebanon, Tennessee, in 1822. He and his brother came to Mississippi, and settled on Cobbs Creek in 1840. Both of them lived in Leake County until their death. They were members of the first company which left that county in 1861. Colonel R. J. Hall was a member of the Secession Convention. After the war he and his brother returned to help build up their broken fortunes and aid in the county government. A Yankee officer gave R. J. Hall a Federal appointment. Another man, who had expected to get the place, said to the Yankee officer: "Don't you know that man, R. J. Hall, is the worst 'fire-eater' in Leake County?" The Yankee replied that was the kind of men he wanted, for if he was true to one side he would be true to the other.

Elections and Campaign Methods.

Election day was a great event for the negroes. They would march to the polls in great droves, having been supplied with ballots several days in advance. As has already been stated the carpetbaggers, scalawags and negroes outnumbered the Democrats, yet in the three campaigns in which they put out tickets, in 1866, 1871 and 1872, they never carried an election.

The principle for which the Democrats stood was white supremacy. Their tickets were usually furnished by the local newspaper and contained printed matter on the back. The Republican ticket in some elections contained a very conspicuous United States flag on the back, and in other elections it was plain. This enabled the negroes to detect the Republican ticket anywhere. The negroes held secret meetings just before elections and were well posted by their respective leaders. The different companies or

negro clubs would dress in uniform, and at the sound of the drum march in a body to the polls for the purpose of voting, but they did not always succeed.

At an election in Thomastown, in 1866, when a troop of these would-be voters presented themselves, George Nash placed himself on the gallery of an old store, in full view of the polling place, with a pistol in his hand, and said he would shoot the first black man who tried to vote. The blacks knew him well enough to take him at his word and immediately began to scatter. The shed-room of this old store had been filled with guns to use in case of emergency.[18]

At the same place on the next election (1871), W. B. Allen, who was constable of that beat, kept an account of the number of negroes who voted, and carrying the ballot box at noon to Dr. Roby's home, opened it, dumped the contents into the fire, and refilled it with Democratic votes. It was then returned to the voting place and the election continued.[19] The election clerks were always supplied with plenty of Democratic tickets. They would receive the votes from the negroes and as opportunity presented would swap them for Democratic tickets, which were easily accessible.

At other times the place would be kept open so late that the managers would be compelled to count the votes by candlelight. This afforded an opportunity for the substitution of Democratic for Republican tickets with little danger of detection.

Many of the best and most patriotic men became experts in cheating the negroes out of their votes. By noon, on election days, practically all the negro votes were cast, as they always voted as early in the day as possible. Then by reference to the tally sheet it was known just how many votes were in the box. The "stuffers," armed with their Democratic tickets, which were folded and put up in bundles of forty or fifty each with a few Republican tickets for appearance sake, would get custody of the box when the polls were closed at noon. As they were provided

[18] Charles Riley (colored) gave this information, which was substantiated by W. B. Allen.

[19] W. B. Allen is the authority for this statement.

with a duplicate key it would take only one or two minutes to make the transfer. This was the most satisfactory plan ever worked in Leake County.

Another plan, which worked well and which was never detected or suspected, was to fold the margin of the Democratic tickets so that the printed matter on the back did not show. This gave them the appearance of Republican tickets, which were blank on the back.[20]

In the presidential campaign of 1872, there were Greeley-Brown clubs organized in every beat in the county. There was a big Greeley barbecue held on September 6th at Ofahoma. The orators of the occasion were Judge J. A. P. Campbell and Col. O. R. Singleton.

Another very effective method was the one used on Ned Rushing, a colored Baptist preacher, who had made himself very obnoxious to the white people by taking too prominent a part in the elections. He would stand at the ballot box and show his "brothers in black" how to vote. The white people found that he was voting the negroes on the Republican side and they decided to wait on him. They were not masked, but they told him if he ever knew any of them at any time after that they would kill him. They then proceeded to give him a "red shirt," by the use of long hickories actively applied. The negroes at that time had a superstition that the judgment day was near because of the action of a certain star. While the white men were whipping Ned he asked if judgment day had not already come, for he declared that he seen many stars.[21]

The election of 1872 was one long to be remembered by all who knew of the exultation which followed that event. The Democrats regained control and the carpetbag rule was forever destroyed in Leake County. It was celebrated by yelling and by every other method of demonstration that human ingenuity could devise. These hideous noises were welcome sounds to all, as they announced that the Democrats had won all over the county.[22]

[20] W. R. Lacey is the authority for this statement.
[21] George Edwards (colored) gave this information.
[22] Mrs M. M. Hall gave these interesting facts.

Organizations.

As this was an interior county it was not burdened with many of the organizations found in the other counties. There were, however, many negro military clubs, a Loyal League, a Freedmen's Bureau and a Ku Klux Klan.

The Republican party organized the Loyal League, taking in all negroes old enough to vote, except a few who belonged to the Democratic club. Its leaders persuaded the negroes to turn from their old masters, promising them many things they never received, such as forty acres, a mule and a year's supply of rations. They were taught that all the lands of the South would be confiscated and distributed to the loyal people of the United States. These Loyal Leagues were organized in each voting precinct in the county, where the negroes were initiated with great secrecy and drilled by the adventurous carpetbaggers and their emissaries. Dr. H. H. Howard was the boss of Leake County and Ned Rushing was his emissary among the negroes.

The Freedmen's Bureau was organized but was never very active. The most common organizations were the negro military clubs. These clubs existed in the communities where the negroes were most thickly settled. Their purpose was mainly for parade on election days. Ned McMullen and Jack Watson (both colored) were captains of the club at Gallilee. The negroes dressed in uniforms, the captains had on wide sashes and swords. They would march to the polls with beating drums and flying colors. One of the clubs met every two weeks to drill in an old field, known as Jordan's Field, about a mile north of the county line.[23]

There were three military clubs to which the Leake County negroes belonged. Two of them met in Leake County and the other just across the Madison County line. Ross, Pratt and Cunningham, carpetbaggers who had come to Canton, Madison County, at the close of the war gave the negroes the authority to form military clubs. These clubs were organized at Thomastown, at Baldwin (known as the Robinson Road club) and at Sulphur Spring, Madison County.

[23] Charles Riley (colored) is authority for this statement.

The purpose of these organizations was to place the negroes in political power and to get revenge for grievances, both real and imaginary. If a white man mistreated any member of the club, the club would immediately attempt to punish him in some secret manner. The one who had been offended would remain at home in order that no suspicion might fall on him. The following incident is illustrative:

The whites attempted to arrest Wallace Hill (colored) for stealing meat. George Pannel, captain of the Sulphur Springs club shielded him. The white people then armed themselves and started to arrest this club. Tom Branson, the captain of the Robinson Road club, promised that the other club would surrender to Preston, the Deputy Sheriff of Madison County, if he would send his men back. The club surrendered and was carried to Canton and tried, but all the members were released.[24]

Very few of the citizens of Leake County know anything of the existence of a Ku Klux Klan, or they are very discreet about revealing their knowledge of this organization to others. The negroes give vivid description, however, of a body of ghosts, which visited them one night, all clad in white and moving without the least sound, and with heads adjusted so that they could be thrown in a bag, as one would carry a knapsack. These ghosts demanded water in a deep, hoarse voice and each of them drank several buckets full saying it was the first drink they had had since the battle of Manassas.

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in Leake County in 1868 and was known as the Washington Brothers. It was never very active, for there was no necessity for great demonstrations in order to control the negroes.[25] The klan was composed of Confederate soldiers, as good men as ever breathed, though some were rough. They had no permanent place of meeting. Their purpose was to intimidate the negroes and to keep them from voting. A few of the members would ride around the country the night before elections, telling the negroes not to come to the polls, and this was usually sufficient.

[24] George Edwards (colored) gave this information.
[25] R. B. Walker furnished this information.

Fears of a negro riot, led by a negro, Noah Dismuke, caused the people to organize for protection. Noah was a bigoted freedman, and at times made himself very obnoxious to the white people. It was reported that the white people were preparing to "wait upon him." He got his gun and said he wished they would come, he was afraid of no white man. He waited sometime for the coming of the whites, but as they did not appear, he returned to his home. As he was going through his door, it is said that his gun in some way fired and he fell dead. Some think it was not his gun that emptied itself into his head but a shot from some member of the klan. Several negroes were killed by outsiders and the blame was unjustly put upon the Ku Klux. Whipping was the extent of their punishment. Jim Stubbs was captain of the klan in Beat Four. This klan whipped Henry Sanders, Bill Allen and a negro named Ike ——. These negroes were "died in the wool" Republicans and were very obnoxious in their manners.[26]

Education and Religion.

As there were so many other things that required the attention of the people at this time, very little attention was given to educational matters. The schools were few and houses were in a very dilapidated condition. The salaries were low and the teachers were inefficient. They were paid usually not more than forty-five dollars a month. The negro schools were taught mostly by their own color. These teachers got about second grade licenses and their average salary was from twenty to thirty-five dollars. The schoolhouses for white children were so poor and meagerly equipped that schools were frequently taught in churches. The facilities for the negro schools were much worse. Their houses were little more than huts, very poorly heated and rudely furnished. The term of the rural school was four months. In 1872 the Board of Supervisors proposed to established a high school for white children at Carthage, but this was opposed by the Superintendent of Education, H. H. Howard.

[26] These statements are made on the authority of J. E. Gilbert, R. B. Walker and George Edwards (colored).

Some of the negro schools were taught by white men. A carpetbagger by the name of Wood taught a negro school near Gallilee and one of his two brothers, who came with him, taught another near Carthage. These men told the negroes that the white people were defrauding them out of their cotton, and they induced the negroes to turn the cotton over to them for shipment, claiming that they could get a better price than the white men had been paying for it. In this way they got together forty-two bales of cotton, which they shipped to New Orleans. They followed the cotton and were never heard of again.

A Presbyterian preacher by the name of Caldwell came to Leake County about 1865 from South Carolina. He was comparatively well educated, and was at first very popular with the white people. He soon lost his popularity by teaching a colored school at Forest Grove. The white people were very indignant and were preparing "to visit him," but he suddenly disappeared. He made his way back to South Carolina, leaving his family to follow in a more leisurely way.

Jim Matlock, a native white citizen of Leake County, taught a negro school at the old Matlock place. Wiley Johnson, a scalawag and a half-breed Indian, taught a negro school at Ofahoma. No action was taken against any of these men.

The churches were also in poor condition. The principal denominations in the county were Methodist and Missionary Baptist, although there were some Primitive Baptist Churches, one Cumberland Presbyterian and one Lutheran Church in its limits. At first the various denominations took negroes into their churches, heard their confessions of faith, administered baptism and the sacrament to them, and had a special place reserved for them in the churches. However, they were not allowed any voice in the church government, yet some of them were called on to lead in public prayer at the church services. There were negro preachers in slavery days, and some of them even preached to the white people, but not as a general rule.

After freedom, the negroes were organized into separate churches and the whites preached to them until they obtained preachers of their own color. Most of the negroes are mem-

bers of some church, the Baptists having the largest number and the Methodist next. Their discipline was and is very lax, but they are always prompt and regular in attendance and display much religious zeal in their services. The largest negro church in the county is near Lena.

Most of the negro preachers took an active interest in political matters and were, as a rule, political leaders of their race. Several of them have already been mentioned. Parson Ned Rushing, who was the political boss of the negro race in the county, and King, who was defrauded out of an election as Justice of the Peace in Beat Four, were the most celebrated negro politicians of the county.[27]

Economic Conditions.

At the close of the war, Leake County was in a better condition than most of the neighboring counties, having suffered little from the devastating raids which passed through the State. However, many of her citizens had suffered the loss of cattle, mules and horses, which had been captured by scattering bands of Yankees. A large number had suffered from the loss of slaves. Many of the free negroes refused to work, and the rest were able to dictate the terms of their contracts.

There was a law made for the benefit of the freedmen, which forced all employers to make a written contract with their employees. These contracts stated the length of time and the wages to be paid for service. In 1865 the price of wages was very low, but it gradually increased.

The most common from of contract was what is known as the share system. Under this contract the employer would furnish rations, stock, land and a home to the laborer and receive in return one-half of the crop.

The wage system was used to a certain extent, the amount of monthly wages ranging from five to twenty dollars. The negro women received less than the men, being frequently employed for their food and clothing.

---

[27] These facts were obtained from W. R. Lacey and J. E. Gilbert.

The crops had been short during the years of the war, and what had been made was stolen or destroyed by the soldiers. It was a difficult thing to get seed for planting purposes. Cotton seed were particularly scarce, and men with seed had to divide their scant share with their less fortunate neighbors. In 1867 the citizens succeeded in getting enough seed to plant a big crop of cotton. Previous to this time cotton had brought a big price—from thirty to sixty cents a pound. They thought better things were in store for them, but when the crop was gathered the price fell down as low six cents a pound. Land was sometimes rated as low as fifty cents per acre.[28]

Necessity forced those to work who had not known what work was before. Women spun their own cloth, knitted their hose and parched potatoes as a substitute for coffee. Men tanned leather and made shoes for themselves and their families.

Better times came after 1872. That was a very successful year for the farmers. Crops had been good and brought a very good price. On Thursday, September 25th, there was a big Thanksgiving celebration at Carthage, in acknowledgment of the blessings of Providence for the abundant crops with which the county had been blessed. On November 15th, the editor of *The Carthagenian* received a letter, saying the corn and cotton crops were never better. An editorial in the same paper says that the curse of the carpetbagger seemed to be a necessary but expensive evil, but they had left the county and no one was very melancholy on that account.[29]

The business of the county was carried on between the years 1865 and 1876 in about as economical a manner as was possible.[30] In 1872 the per diem was reduced. County paper sold as low as 25 per cent., but the extravagance was in the management of State affairs. Paupers were let out to individuals without any regular contract or rate. The fund for the support of the poor was from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the State tax. The

[28] Mrs. M. M. Hall is the authority for these statements.
[29] This statement was taken from *The Carthagenian.*
[30] Pressly Groves gave this information.

first tax for public schools was a tax of 10 per cent. on the State tax for the year 1870. In the year 1871, a tax of five mills was levied to cover a deficit in the teachers' fund. Each year the school levy was from 3 3/4 mills to 5 mills on the dollar. County taxes were usually not higher than at present, but the State tax was so great as to make the total tax a heavy burden. The county levy ranged from 4 to 14 mills.[21]

[21] This information was obtained from R. B. Walker's Ms. "History of Reconstruction in Leake County."

APPENDIX A.

Board of Police or Supervisors.

Beat 1.—Geo. Gray, Democrat, 1865; W. R. Groves, Democrat, 1865-69; A. D. Hollis, Republican, 1869-71; Richard Moore, Democrat, 1871-76.

Beat. 2.—M. M. Mann*, Democrat, 1865-67; A. J. Boyett, Democrat, 1867-69; B. P. Crabb, Republican, 1869-71.

Beat 3—Robert Bain, Democrat, 1865; C. H. Matlock, Democrat, 1865-69; Wm. B. Harper,* Republican, 1869-71; A. H. Cotton, Democrat, 1871-76.

Beat 4.—P. S. McDonald, Democrat, 1865; Jethro Eure, Democrat, 1865-67; S. Johnson, Republican, 1867-69; James Henderson, Republican, 1869-70; Jesse Brewer, Republican, 1870-71; W. D. Henson, Democrat, 1871-76.

Beat 5.—B. S. Rushing, Democrat, 1865-69; W. C. Brewer, Repubican, 1869-71; M. Sanders, Democrat, 1871-76.

The names marked with a star were presidents of the board.

Officers of Leake County 1865-1876.

Sheriffs.—S. McIntosh, Democrat, 1866-67; Charles A. Crane, Republican, 1868-70; W. H. Wood, Republican, 1870-71; R. J. Williams, Republican, 1871; Thos. L. Cooper, Democrat, 1871-76.

Circuit Clerks.—D. C. Beauchamp, Democrat, 1865-69; A. H. Bilbo, Republican, 1869-70; Wm. Bilbo, Republican, 1870-71; R. L. Wallace, Democrat, 1871-76.

Chancery Clerks.—John D. Grigsby, Democrat, 1865-69; Berthur Warren, Republican, 1869-70; John A. Hanson, Republican, 1870-71; George Edwards, Democrat, 1871-76.

Treasurers.—H. H. Howard, Republican, 1865-67; L. D. Williams, Democrat, 1867-69; J. J. Hutchens, Democrat, 1869-70; M. Simpson, Republican, 1870-71; D. Treadwell, Democrat, 1871-76.

Tax Assessors.—W. S. Rushing, Republican, 1869-70; R. J. Williams, Republican, 1870-71; D. F. Cadenhead, Democrat, 1871-76.

Senators.—S. W. Land, Democrat, 1865-67; W. S. Rushing, 1870-71; James S. Smyth, Democrat, 1872-76; G. G. Henderson, Democrat, 1874-75.

Representatives.—J. A. Hanson, Republican, 1864-67; E. H. Jones, Republican, 1870-71; J. N. Denson, Democrat, 1874-75; J. M. Eckford, Democrat, 1874-75.

APPENDIX B.

TABLE I. OWNERS OF SLAVES IN LEAKE COUNTY ACCORDING TO NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	Total Slaveholders	Total Slaves
90	63	58	52	35	32	22	14	20	39	21	14	2	5	3	470	3,056

TABLE II. POPULATION OF LEAKE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	WHITE			NEGRO			Total Population
	Native	Foreign	Total	Free	Slaves	Total	
1860	6,231	35	6,266	2	3,056	3,058	9,324
1870	5,461	30	5,491	3,005	.....	3,005	8,496
1880	8,072	32	8,104	4,660	.....	4,660	12,764

TABLE III. NATIVITY OF FOREIGNERS IN LEAKE COUNTY, 1870-1880.

	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	Switzerland	Africa	Total
1870	1	1	22	1	1	2	2	30
1880	3	2	20	1	3	1	.....	30

TABLE IV. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LEAKE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Containing Thirty Acres or More							Tenure		
	Improved Land	Number of Farms	Bales of Cotton	Bushels of Corn	Bushels of Oats	Value of Farm Products	Value of Live Stock	Cultivated by Owner	Rented for Fixed Money Rental	Rented for Shares of Products
1860	56,289	719	10,251	309,194	3,876	....	$440,035	.....	.....	.....
1870	.....	874	4,181	157,648	4,029	.....	291,535	.....	.....	.....
1880	59,131	1,841	9,016	.....	.....	$735,957	300,898	1,205	185	451

TABLE V. TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS OF LEAKE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Valuation			Taxation, Not National			Debts				
	Assessed Value of Real Estate	Assessed Value of Personal Estate	Total	State	County	City, Town, etc.	Bonded	Floating	Gross	Sinking Fund	Net
1860	$1,841,991	$4,100,863	$5,942,854	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	668,918	630,780	1,299,698	$8,982	$15,854	$3,000	$3,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880	478,898	217,146	692,044	4,190	11,554	.....	.....	$2,000	$2,000	.....	$2,000

TABLE VI. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, LEAKE COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Number of Hands		Cost of Labor	Value of Products
				Male	Female		
1860.....	8	$18,200	$10,210	19	1	$5,772	$19,811
1870.....	6	9,900	11,668	.....	.....	3,310	21,460
1880	16	15,550	38,200	19	.....	1,950	44,960

TABLE VII. WHITE AND NEGRO ILLITERACY IN LEAKE COUNTY, 1870.

Attended School							Cannot Read—10 and Over	Cannot Write															
			White		Colored						White						Colored						
											10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over		10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over	
Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female		Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
270	270	.....	147	117	2	4	2,030	2,303	2,300	3	65	66	54	47	119	147	220	191	194	201	463	536

TABLE VIII. STATISTICS OF CHURCHES IN LEAKE COUNTY, 1860-1870.

	BAPTIST			LUTHERAN			METHODIST			CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN			UNION		
	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property	Number of Organizations	Sittings	Value of Property
1860	12	4,250	3,300	1	300	845	10	2,135	1,800	1	300	.....	1	200	200
1870	15	4,500	.....	1	300	.....	13	4,200	.....	1	300	.....	.....	.....	.....

RECONSTRUCTION IN DESOTO COUNTY.

By Irby C. Nichols.[1]

Both DeSoto County and its county seat, Hernando, derive their names from the great discoverer, Hernando DeSoto, who crossed the county, passing near the town of Hernando, just before reaching the Father of Waters in May, 1541.[2]

This county is situated in the extreme northwestern corner of Mississippi. At the time of its establishment, Febuary 9, 1836, it was bounded as follows:

Beginning where the northern boundary of the State intersects the Mississippi River, thence south with said boundary line, to the center of

[1] This contribution is the result of seminary work, in the Department of History, in the University of Mississippi, in the session of 1906-'7.

Irby C. Nichols was born in Eudora, DeSoto County, Mississippi, November 11, 1882. He entered the University of Mississippi as a student in September, 1901. Three years later he was made Fellow in Mathematics in that institution, which appointment he held until his graduation in June, 1906. He then became Instructor in Mathematics in the same institution, and held this position until he was forced to abandon his work temporarily on account of failing health. He received the Degree of M. A. from the University of Mississippi in 1908. At the beginning of the session of 1909-'10 he accepted a position as Instructor in Mathematics in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, which place he now holds.

His paternal ancestor removed from England to Virginia in colonial times, and is said to have served in the Patriot Army during the Revolution. His great-grandfather served under Jackson in the War of 1812, taking part in the Battle of New Orleans. His grandfather, James Driver Nichols, was born in Maury County, Tennessee, and reared in Limestone County, Alabama. When about seventeen years of age he joined a party of surveyors who came to North Mississippi to survey the land then just acquired from the Indians. A year later he returned to Alabama, and married Miss Phelista Miller. In 1847 he removed to DeSoto County, Mississippi, where he accumulated a large body of land and bought many slaves. He took an active part in county politics, holding several offices. In 1870 he was ordained as a Baptist minister. His first wife having died, he was married to Mrs. Mildred Turner in 1858. His son, Abner Driver Nichols, has led a very quiet life, taking little part in politics, except to advocate good schools and educational advantages for the children of his community. He was married to Miss Nina Jones, daughter of a veteran of the War of Secession, who had served as lieutenant in Company D. First Mississippi Regiment. His ancestors removed from Georgia to Alabama and thence to Mississippi.—Editor.

[2] A recent contributor to the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 454-456, contends that DeSoto crossed the Mississippi River at a place opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River.

range five, west; thence south, with the section lines, through the center of said range, to the center of township six, range five, west; thence west, through the center of said township, to the line between range nine and ten, west; thence north, with said range line, to the line between township two and three, range nine, west; thence west, with said township line to the Mississippi River; thence up said river to the beginning.

In 1872, a large portion of DeSoto County was cut away on the south to form Tate County, leaving its southern boundary, beginning at the center of the southern line of township three, range five, west; thence west, with said line, to the Coldwater River; thence down said river to the line between ranges nine and ten, west.

Its average elevation is about three hundred feet. Its surface, for the most, is moderately hilly, except along the Mississippi and Coldwater Rivers, which is level. In fertility it is superior to its neighboring hill counties.

Politically, its influence has been well recognized—particularly so in the period about to be treated. It was then the home of Jas. Bright Morgan, Ham H. Chalmers, Jas. R. Chalmers, G. D. Shands, Felix Labauve, Thos. W. White and others. These men by their keen discernment, diligent work, and skillful management so checkmated their carpetbag and scalawag foes that the county was piloted through the great reconstruction period without any bloody riots, or very extravagant administrations and with only a moderate degree of disorder and political disturbance. It had carpetbaggers in the Legislature, two carpetbag Sheriffs, one negro Sheriff, several carpetbaggers and native Republicans, white and blacks, on the Board of Police, and in other county offices. But in spite of these facts, the affairs of the county were conducted well.

The Police Court records, all of which are in a well-preserved condition and the bound files of the county paper of the time, *The Peoples' Press*, few of which are missing, are the principal sources used in the preparation of this study.

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags.

Many of the carpetbaggers and scalawags were honest and reliable men, but many were mere political adventurers. Joseph

Rogers, Sheriff from December 7, 1867, until April 9, 1869, was a carpetbagger, but he was a good citizen, attending faithfully to his duties as an officer. He made a permanent home in DeSoto County. He wrote the following letter in his defense after his unexpected removal from office by Ames on April 9, 1869:

HERNANDO, MISS., May 29, 1869.

Editor Clarion:

———On the 24th of Nov. 1867, I was appointed to the office of Sheriff of Desoto County (vice W. J. Bynum, resigned) by Gen. Ord, the then military commander of the Fourth District. I discharged the duties of that office during the command of Gen. Ord, and afterwards during the commands of Generals McDowell and Gillam——.

At the breaking out of the late war, I was living with my family in Iroquois County, Illinois, doing business as a merchant. I left wife, children and business, and recruited a company—Co. F, 113th Ills. Inf. Vols., 1st Brigade, 13th Army Corps—at the head of which I served as commanding officer, and in several other capacities on staff duty until the close of the war, being under General Grant from the time he was brigadier-general until and after he was made commander of the whole Federal Army; I was in twenty different severe battles, and through the siege of Vicksburg. After the surrender, I came to this county and purchased a plantation and have continued with my wife and children to own and occupy the same to this time.

During the registration in this county, under the reconstruction acts, I was appointed registrar by Gen. Ord, and served as such until the registration was complete, and also during the election of delegates to the convention and afterwards at the election held on the ratification of the Constitution framed by said delegates.———I was in favor of reconstruction under the congressional plan, and still continue to advocate the same——. I was in favor of my old military leader, Gen. Grant, for President———.

———I was removed—for no other reason but that—I would not work to the interest of the extreme Radical faction———.

Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH ROGERS,
Ex-Sheriff of Desoto County.

Other evidences than that given in his letters show that Joseph Rogers filled the position of Sheriff acceptably to the people of the county. He received assurances by letter from citizens to the effect that he had given "a good, straight administration," [3] and when the negroes began to form political organizations, he expressed deep regret over the same.[4]

J. N. Campbell, a scalawag, was a smooth politician. The

[3] *The Peoples' Press,* May 6, 1869.
[4] *The Peoples' Press,* Sept. 26, 1867.

Democrats of the time did not like him. *The Peoples' Press* says of him:

> In 1867, he (Campbell) farmed it (the county) with Capt. Rogers, late Sheriff. During that time, he organized at Horn Lake a Loyal League among the freedmen. He became a co-worker with Vance, Wiseman & Co. in organizing a Republican party in the county. The election in June last passed off. Then Campbell went to Memphis, and, since that time, he had gotten out of our mind, until a few days after Daily was appointed Sheriff, when we learn that he had been appointed deputy.
>
> The aforesaid Campbell has created the impression on our mind by that letter to Turner, and by his conduct, that he was sent for, bound by oath, to do mischief in our community, at all hazards—no matter when, what or how is the obligation—and he would be countenanced and encouraged in it by those with whom he is successful.[5]

Later Campbell went to Texas and, it is said, became a prominent citizen.

E. J. Lipsey, "Chief Lipsey," was not thought much of by either side, says Mr. Ab Dickson, of Hernando, Mississippi. He served as County Superintendent of Education for a time,[6] and was appointed Circuit Clerk by Ames in April, 1869. He was a general co-laborer with the Radicals. His brother, who was a Baptist minister of good standing, served as a pastor and the proprietor of the male college at Hernando for a few years, and filled the office of School Commissioner from time to time.

Theodore Wiseman, John P. Caruthers and Dr. H. N. Ballard were other Radical leaders and workers. Little is known of any of them, except that they were all carpetbaggers. Dr. H. N. Ballard, the best known of them, was appointed a member of the Police Board by Ames in October, 1869, and, upon the removal of Wm. Oliver, was made president of that body. In November, 1869, he was elected to the State Senate over H. H. Chalmers by an overwhelming majority. He was, withal, a good official, and stood fairly well with his fellow-citizens.

M. Campbell was from Wisconsin. He was a shrewd carpetbagger and Loyal League organizer. He was also a member of the Board of Police, and later a Representative in the Legislature. Rogers, Ballard and Campbell made their homes perma-

[5] *The Peoples' Press*, June 10, 1869.
[6] Police Court Records, April 7, 1873.

nently in the county, the rest of the carpetbaggers left for parts unknown after their overthrow in 1876.

Campaigns and Elections.

In the minutes of the Board of Police for July 17, 1865, it is recorded that by an order from W. L. Sharkey, Provisional Governor, judges of election were appointed to hold an election for delegates to a convention on August 7, 1865. This election was held July 16, 1865. The delegates elected were:

J. S. Oliver and Chas. Robertson, from the county at large; and from the First District, W. H. McCargo, Y. P. Razell, N. Wilson, W. W. Wilroy, J. A. Stevens, H. O. Allen; from the Second District, J. P. McCracken, W. H. Anderson, J. W. Farmer, J. G. Jeffreys, V. Meriweather; from the Third District, John S. Jones, Dabney Hull, E. Matthews, Stephen Williams, Dr. J. C. Waite; from the Fourth District, G. W. Perkins, Finley Holmes, B. D. C. Bynum, James Walker, Samuel Raines; from the Fifth District, Dr. H. Dockery, C. S. Meriweather, W. J. A. Boon, W. K. Love, R. E. Doggett.

The work of this convention is well known to the student of Mississippi history.

H. Dockery, of Desoto County, was elected by the State Convention as a delegate from the First District of Mississippi to the convention in Philadelphia on August 14, 1865.

On October 1, 1866, an election was held for all district and county offices. It is not known who were Democrats and who were Radicals, perhaps, all Democrats, for the Radicals were not yet organized. This election resulted as follows:

Circuit Judge, A. M. Clayton; Probate Judge, John A. Hancock; Circuit Clerk, J. G. Nesbit; Tax Assessor, T. M. Eavenson; Ranger, C. Gillespie; Magistrate, L. Wheeler; Coroner, J. P. Pullin; District Atty, G. E. Harvis; Probate Clerk, A. W. Smith; Sheriff, W. J. Bynum; Treasurer, R. F. Cooke; Constable, W. L. Reynolds; Surveyor, P. Lewis; Policeman, W. H. Johnson, Fifth District.

The campaign and election in 1868, for the ratification of the Constitution and for choosing State and Congressional officers, was an exciting one. The Democratic and Radical parties each had a full ticket out. Democratic-Conservative clubs, composed of Old Line Whigs and Democrats, were organized all over the county. Dr. H. N. Ballard, Theodore Wiseman, E. J.

Lipsey and others organized Loyal Leagues among the negroes. No joint debates were held—the Radicals would not consent to them—but speeches were made throughout the county. J. D. Freeman, Chairman of the State Executive Committee, H. H. Chalmers, Felix Labauve, James B. Morgan, P. S. Myers, B. G. Humphreys (candidate for Governor), C. E. Hooker (candidate for Attorney-General), John Rankin (colored) and others made speeches in every community, dissecting and exposing "the bogus constitution," admonishing the negroes to stand by their old white friends, and calling upon the white men to organize, coöperate and work. The Radicals were as busy urging their colored friends to stand together, not to split their vote, and to ratify the Constitution.

The final result is well known—the Radicals were defeated by a vote of 2,167 to 413. Felix Labauve[7] was sent as a delegate to the State Convention at Jackson, and was later elected secretary of the Mississippi delegation to the National Democratic Convention in New York, which was held July 2, 1868.

This overwhelming defeat of the Radicals, it is remembered, was so unexpected that it caused a great howl from them and an investigation by Congress. "Chief" Lipsey, one of the Radical leaders, thus gives his view of the election in a private letter to Hon. W. H. Gibbs, Chairman of the Election Committee of Five, Jackson, Mississippi:

COLDWATER, DESOTO CO., MISS.

Dear Sir:

I have intended up to the present time to be at the convention on March 19th, and was anticipating great pleasure on meeting my Union friends, but, owing to the indisposition of my family, I am compelled to forego that satisfaction. You will see from the enclosed ticket that I was a candidate for the Legislature and, though defeated, I feel that it was owing to the time of the year at which the election was held. The rebel opposition composed the idle, loafing, drunken portion of the voters, while the Union voters were generally the working people, and, at that time, were straining every nerve to save their crops, it being the busy season of the year. Consequently, the Union party was taken by surprise and met an armed opposition, which caused most of them to stay away from the polls to save their lives.

[7] For an interesting sketch of this unique character, see Saunders' "Life of Col. Felix Labauve" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VII, 131-141.

While there was no hostile demonstration immediately at the polls, every road was guarded with armed Ku Klux Klan to intimidate Union voters. There are 4,780 registered voters in this county, and the rebel vote amounted to 2,100, and many voted with them through necessity, which they would not have been compelled to do at any other season of the year, many freedmen being dependent upon their rebel employers for rations to finish their crops with———.

Dr. H. N. Ballard, of this county, or Mr. Ozone, of Panola County, are autorized to act as my proxy———.

Hoping that you may be able to ameliorate the condition of your suffering country, I am,

Very respectfully,

E. J. Lipsey.

W. H. Gibbs, Chair. Com. Five.[8]

The same issue of *The Peoples' Press* gives another letter from Lipsey, and one from John P. Caruthers. The issue for March 18, 1869, contains communications from Dr. H. N. Ballard, Theodore Wiseman and E. J. Lipsey, all of them strong in their denunciation of the "rebel" opponents, and urging that something be done to relieve the pitiable condition of the negroes and Radicals. The views of both sides in the fight before the Congressional Committee, and of the public at large, are presented in *The Peoples' Press* for March 11, 1869, as follows:

DeSoto County Before the Reconstruction Committee.

We have been much interested in a perusal of the printed testimony laid before Congress relative to the election held in Mississippi in June, 1868. We propose as soon as our space will admit to lay before our readers all of the evidence from the county.

This evidence consists on the Democratic or Conservative side, of sworn affidavits by Dr. H. Dockery, Major H. H. Chalmers, Major T. C. Dockery, Dr. O. Kellogg, Judge Wm. M. Johnston, Joseph Rogers, A. F. Cole, W. F. Henley, Jas. Hill and J. McClernard, clerks and judges of election, and, also, by the following colored voters: Jessie Paine (Radical) and Edmund Cox, Thos. W. White, Richard Cobb, Henry Alexander and Wm. Roberston (Democratic).

These witnesses, white and black, all swear that the election in this county was fairly, legally and peacefully conducted, without violence or fraud, and that the constitution was honestly defeated, so far as they know or have reason to believe.

The testimony on the Radical side consists of private letters to the chairman of the Republican State Committee by H. N. Ballard, Theodore Wiseman, E. J. Lipsey and John P. Caruthers.

Dr. Ballard's letter, like the doctor himself, is a wishy-washy, milk and water concern, without point or force.

Our late distinguished fellow-citizen, Wiseman, tells a terrible story

[8] *Peoples' Press,* March 11, 1869.

of violence, intimidation and murder, about half of which we do him the credit of believing that he himself believed. He informs his superior officer that he has worked faithfully and hard for the success of the cause, but that his efforts have been in vain—that his life is in danger, and that he is about to fly for safety to New York. He encloses a little bill for services rendered and begs that the amount may be remitted to him by express at once, as he is very needy. He says nothing about having been cashiered from the Freedman's Bureau for stealing, nor the fact that he intended running away in the night to prevent various disconsolate creditors from attaching his effects for debt. He fails, moreover, to inform his friend that he had a few days before his letter offered to sell himself to the Democracy of this place, and to burn all the Radical tickets for $500 in cash, and that the Democrats had declined taking him at that price.

Mr. John P. Caruthers writes that the loyal people are in a large majority in the State, but are kept down and tyrannized over by the *rebels,* that the office holders are all loyal, and that the negroes were prevented from voting by threats of being discharged. He thinks it impossible to have a fair election in the State, and that Congress ought to take some action for the relief of the loyal men here. He states that the Democrats of Hernando are getting up statistics and testimony about the election, but that it will be entirely unworthy of belief; nobody but Lipsey, Wiseman, Ballard and himself *being* worthy of belief, we suppose. When did our friend get to be such an intensely loyal man? The last we heard of him he was bitterly opposed to the new construction and the Radical party, and no man in the county was more denunciatory of Judge Vance, whom he now speaks of so lovingly as our "mutual friend."

But E. J. Lipsey is the richest of all. He writes three letters to his dear friend, Gibbs, and each one is lovelier than the other. Caruthers, Ballard and Wiseman are nowhere to Lipsey. He fairly revels in tales of fraud and violence and persecution. He declares the election a farce. He states that all the roads in the county on election days were guarded by armed bands of K. K. K. and woe to the unfortunate Radical who fell into their hands. He denounces the Circuit Court, presided over by Judges Clayton and Harris, as being as desperate an ally as a K. K. court. He declares that General Gillen is no better than Jeff. Davis. He begs something may be speedily done for the relief of the more faithful, and more especially does he pray that all rebels may be removed from office and loyal men installed therein. Oh! pure and patriotic Lipsey, would it not be excellent to be installed in a good, comfortable office—say Circuit or Probate Clerk, for instance. Then, indeed, would everything be lovely. We would like to dwell upon pleasing thoughts, but we must pause, most excellent Lipsey, we part from thee with regret. Well, indeed, do the Independence boys call thee "chief" in that noble science to which Falstaff so feelingly alludes when he exclaims,

"Oh, Hal, how this world is given to lying."

There are several allusions in the testimony to Judge Vance, but the judge himself, with that pleasing modesty which has marked him through his life, says not a word. He sits in humble obscurity in the background while Ballard, Lipsey and others pull out of the fire those chestnuts which the sly old coon intends to eat.

Another heated compaign followed in the fall of 1869 for the

gubernatorial, congressional and legislative offices. The tickets put out by the respective parties were:

	Radical.	Conservative.
For Governor	Alcorn,	Louis Dent.
For Congress	Harris,	J. L. Wofford.
For Lieutentant-Governor		E. Jeffars.
For Secretary of State		Thos. Sinclair.
For Auditor		A. W. Wells.
For Treasurer		Joseph McClay.
For Attorney-General		Robert Lowry.
For Supt. Pub. Inst.		T. S. Gathright.
For Senate	H. N. Ballard.	H. H. Chalmers.
For Legislature	Walker.	J. O. Sandidge.
	M. Campbell.	T. C. Dockery.
	G. P. Carrington.	Larkin Echols.

A schedule of appointments was made out by the Conservatives and published, and a cordial invitation extended to the Radicals to meet them in joint debate. The Radicals refused to do this, but rode day and night organizing Loyal Leagues and working up the negroes.[9]

In *The Peoples' Press* for August 19, 1869, mention is made of a joint debate in Hernando, in which the Radicals were represented by J. L. Alcorn. But we are told that "he waited until 4 P. M. before he appeared; then taking the stand first, he spoke until 6 P. M., thus giving his opponent no time in which to reply." *The Peoples' Press* speaks of the Radical platform as being composed of principles of "proscription, disfranchisement, class legislation, exclusive privileges and taxation without representation."[10]

Public speeches were made in every community by Conservative candidates, in which they severely criticised the Radicals, tore into splinters their platform, and dealt with them unmercifully. A few clippings from *The Peoples' Press* will give some idea of the excitement of the times:

No intimidation is to be used to influence voters in the election, but the colored men are told by the Radicals that "if they vote the Conservative Republican ticket, they will be put back in slavery." They are told and sworn not to go to hear a Conservative speak.

---

[9] *The Peoples' Press,* Oct. 28, 1869.
[10] *The Peoples' Press,* August 26, 1869.

They are told if they do not vote the Radical ticket, "the Northern people will tell the Southern people to oppress them."

They are told, too, if they vote the Radical ticket the lands in the county will be taxed so high that they (the colored men) can buy them for a mere song. No intimidation is to be used! Oh, no![11]

Stand by the polls until the last vote is cast. Be sure to guard against the possibility of fraud.[12]

The Radicals are going to charter the trains on the Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad on the second day of the election to bring, as they say, a sufficient number of people into Hernando to carry the election by sheer force of numbers. Look out, Conservatives, and be ready for any emergency.[13]

This is the last paper we shall issue before the election is over. We beseech our friends—friends of our country, of peace and good government—not to fail to vote early and work late for the defeat of the Radical party. Let nothing prevent you from doing your whole duty in this momentous crisis. Work friends—work from this time until late on the evening of December 1st—again we say, To your posts, every man in Desoto County. No man will acquit himself of his duty if he does not vote himself and bring one recruit or more. *Work!* WORK!! WORK!!![14]

Look out for frauds of every character. Thieves and robbers have been imported by Ames from Memphis as managers of the elections. *Watch!* WATCH!! WATCH!!![15]

But in spite of all efforts, the Conservatives were defeated by 640 votes. An editorial of the times says:

The late election conclusively shows that the people of the State are already divided into the most dangerous of all political divisions, to-wit: A white man's against a black man's party. No amount of supposed personal popularity could draw black votes to the Conservative ticket, nor white votes to the Radical ticket—this was strikingly exemplified in this county: Major Dockery and Major Chalmers were supposed to be very popular with the black voters and yet out of more than 2,000 black votes polled, it is not probable that they received more than seventy-five. On the contrary, Colonel Geo. E. Harris, who was raised in the county and was supposed to have many warm personal friends in it, ran behind General Alcorn, and only beat Dr. Ballard (who certainly is not popular with the white voters) four votes. Outside of Ames' office-holders and their relations it is probable that he received not more than twenty-five white votes. It is true that General Alcorn ran some forty votes ahead of his party, but this was due to the bitter opposition of some white men to voting for Dent whom they regarded as a Yankee carpet-bagger. We have struggled hard and long against the formation of parties founded upon race; but, if our colored friends will have it so, we shall certainly not forget that we belong to the white race.[16]

[11] Ibid. for Nov. 25, 1869.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. for December 9, 1869.

Except the usual meetings of the county conventions and occasional special meetings, at which, of course, the Conservatives always denounced Radical rule, and the Radicals originated schemes whereby they might be able to draw tighter reigns over their helpless foes, no very great political excitement occurred again until the regular biennial election in 1871. This campaign was the most exciting that had yet taken place. The Conservatives by this time consisted of all persons opposed to Radicalism; their platform was fierce and scathing in its denunciation of Radical rule and carpetbag government. They organized clubs, held conventions, made speeches and exerted every effort to overthrow their opponents. Robert Lowry, E. C. Walthall, H. H. Chalmers, Jas. R. Chalmers, J. B. Morgan, G. D. Shands, Felix Labauve, J. W. C. Watson, J. W. Clapp, Kenneth Rayner and others made speeches against the Radicals. James Lynch (colored), secretary of State; J. S. Morris, Attorney-General; R. C. Powers, Lieutenant-Governor; Adelbert Ames, United States Senator; Rankin, Young, J. N. Campbell, Thos. McCain, Sam Johnson (negro preacher), G. E. Harris and Walker, members of the Legislature; Blackmon, Alcorn and others spoke in support of the Radical party, denouncing the Ku Klux Klans, and organizing and marshalling the Loyal League forces. Their respective tickets were:

	Radical.	Conservative.
District-Attorney,	M. G. Brady.	J. S. Hall, Jr.
State Senate,	M. Campbell.	Joseph Lindley.
	G. G. Caldwell (Memphis).	I. G. Holloway.
Legislature,	Thos. McCain (negro).	Elbert Oliver.
	A. W. Smith	W. N. McCain.
	Hiram Hall.	G. D. Shands.
	O. F. West.	J. C. Walker.
	J. H. Johnson (Ohio negro).	A. G. Sandidge.
Chancery Clerk,	J. N. Campbell.	R. D. Nesbit.
Circuit Clerk,	Lewis Mitchell(negro).	Jno. W. Woods.
Treasurer,	Sowell Newsom.	C. H. Robetson.
Assessor,	W. H. Walker.	R. L. Miller.
Surveyor,	Matthews.	C. Gillespie.
Supervisors,	.....	C. A. Marshall.
	.....	M. A. Thornton.
	Felix Davis,	Jno. L. Brown.
	W. B. Battle.	James Bryson.
	W. J. Veasey,	Asa B. Doggett.

The election resulted in the success of the Radical ticket by a majority of 111 votes, the Democrats or Conservatives securing only C. A. Marshall and M. A. Thornton on the Board of Police, and I. G. Holloway for the State Senate.

The campaign for 1872 for national offices was characterized by the usual conventions, barbecues, mass-meetings, public-speaking and organization of clubs. The respective executive committees consisted of:

Democrats: S. Powell, T. H. Johnson, John Robertson, John S. Jones, J. P. McCracken, John L. Brown, Pat Strictland, W. R. Dye, T. Y. Caffey, A. W. Huddleston, G. D. Shands, S. L. Wynn, John T. Thornton, G L. Blythe and C. A. Marshall.

Liberal Republicans: W. P. Brown, H. Richardson, J. H. Cocke, Jas. Pickle, Francis Hill, W. T. Nesbit, W. T. Cole, Hiram Hall, G. B. Wright, L. Howse, George Hunt and W. R. Oliver.

The Democratic Committee met and organized in August, and among other business transacted, passed resolutions to meet every two weeks after September 2d, to organize local clubs, to raise funds with which to conduct a campaign against Grant and Wilson, and to use every effort to defeat the "so-called" Liberals. Among the Democratic delegates to the State Convention were G. D. Shands, W. H. McCargo, C. A. Marshall, K. Rayner, H. H. Chalmers, J. B. Morgan, N. W. Campbell, Mat Walker and B. R. Chambliss. H. H. Chalmers was sent as chairman of the Mississippi delegation to the National Convention at Baltimore. When he announced Mississippi's vote in that convention, he said:

Mr. President:

It is inscribed on the platform above your head, "peace and good-will." Mississippi accepts these as the watch-word of the campaign and casts her vote for the illustrious apostle of peace and good-will, Horace Greeley.[17]

But Grant carried the county by 798 majority and Howe (Liberal) went to Congress by a majority of 477.

As the volumes of *The Peoples' Press* are missing for the remaining years of the reconstruction period, the sources are too meagre to attempt a detailed account of the campaigns

[17] *The Peoples' Press,* July 25, 1871.

from 1872 to 1876. There was, in general, a repetition of the methods used in the earlier campaigns, though party feeling became more bitter, since the Radicals remained uniformly in power until their complete overthrow in 1876. The Democrats held a few offices usually, and always managed to secure one or more members of the Board of Police (Supervisors), except when they were appointed by the Governor.

The Sheriff's office was once filled by a negro, J. J. Evans, formerly a slave of R. E. Doggett. He was elected November 4, 1873. The following statements about Evans' official career are interesting in this connection:

> He was a good, sound negro, but his bondsmen really administered his affairs and ran his office. Some slight confusion occurred once, resulting in his being charged with defaulting, but, as no specific statements concerning it are found, the conclusion seems to have been that nothing wrong really occurred. After this incident, some change took place in his bondsmen, and R. R. West was put in charge of the office and became Sheriff in all but name. No further trouble resulted.

J. J. Evans, G. E. Harris, John R. Tatum, Albert R. Howse, U. Ozone, Thos. S. Tate, Marion Campbell were bondsmen for Evans for $75,000.[18]

The campaign in 1876 was the greatest campaign of the whole reconstruction period. The Democratic party made its nominations early. In April, J. B. Morgan was nominated for the State Senate, and Judge Sam Powell and J. D. Nichols, for the Legislature. Van H. Manning was the Democratic nominee for Congress. Military companies were raised, clubs organized in every community, and rallies held frequently. On September 9th, a rally was held in Hernando—thirteen clubs were represented, and the "DeSoto Blues," nine hundred strong, paraded on horses, to the music of brass bands. An immense flag, thirty feet by eight feet, with the words "Tilden and Hendricks" inscribed on it, waved from a pole one hundred and forty feet high. E. Barksdale, W. S. Featherston and J. G. Hall made eloquent speeches. Excitement ran so high that a riot came very near breaking out a few days later, when Man-

[18] Officers' Bond Book, B, p. 23.

ning and Walton, opposing candidates for Congress met in joint debate in Hernando. The negroes came early, and took possession of the seats intended to be reserved for the white people, and, when ordered to vacate them, moved too reluctantly to suit some of the white people, one of whom hit a negro with a cane. This gave the negro occasion to grab the cane and engage in a fight. An unknown negro fired a pistol, and in the excitement which followed, about twenty-five shots were fired. A. D. Nichols, of Eudora, Mississippi, in speaking of the incident says:

> Several random shots were fired; two negroes and two white men were hurt—John W. Woods, Captain of the "Hernando Blues" and a nephew of Caruthers, was mortally wounded, and Dr. Thos. E. Nichols, my brother, then acting as Deputy-Sheriff, was wounded in the face. The wounded negroes recovered. Colonel Tom White, Judge Morgan and others deserve credit for preventing a fierce riot. I had drawn my pistol, and my brother, Tom, the moment he was shot, handed me his pistol, saying, with an oath: "Kill every d——n nigger in the county." Other white men also drew their pistols, but, before we could see what negroes were doing the shooting, Judge Morgan grabbed me, took both of my pistols and checked us all. However, the negroes scattered, and a good effect probably resulted.

In November, just before the election came off, the "grand rally" of the county was held in Hernando. Sixteen clubs were represented and one thousand, seven hundred and sixty men were in line. The orators of the occasion were J. B. Morgan, G. D. Shands and L. Q. C. Lamar.

The final result of this campaign every student of reconstruction history knows—the Radicals in Mississippi were dealt a death blow, the carpetbagger was bidden to go whence he came, and the scalawag was turned out of office. Tilden carried by 878 majority the same county that had gone for Grant by 798 only four years before, and Van H. Manning was sent to Congress. The Democrats throughout the State came into possession of their rightful heritage. This ended the most trying, anxious and exciting periods of Southern history.

Fraudulent Contracts.

It does not appear that any grossly fraudulent contracts were made in DeSoto County in this period. The "old jail lot" was

sold to negroes for eleemosynary purposes by the Board of Police in June, 1869, for $10, whereas the former board had refused $200 for it. This transaction elicited some newspaper notice, but it was an administrative measure brought about through the influence of Judge Vance and other prominent citizens, and designed merely to assist and encourage the negroes in a laudable enterprise.

Bridges were built at reasonable prices, and no charges of fraud were made at the time. The minutes of the board show that bridges were then let as follows:

December 14, 1868, over Calf Pen Creek, maximum price, $1.50 per foot.
July 12, 1869, over a slough, maximum price, 75 cents per foot.
November, 1869, one bridge, maximum price, $1 per foot.
June 20, 1870, allowances for three bridges, $276, $355 and $493, respectively.
Sept. 4, 1871, over Coldwater, on Belmont Road, $900.
June 2, 1873, over Coldwater, let to J. R. Pratt, $3.50 per foot.
Oct. 6, 1873, bridge let to J. R. Pratt, over Lake Cormorant, $6.15 per foot, total cost $2,000.

All of these figures are reasonable.

The courthouse, the Masonic Hall and many business houses were destroyed by the Federals under Hurlburt during the war. On June 20, 1870, A. W. Stokes (Democrat), Thos. W. White (Democrat), and Josiah Dailey (Radical) were appointed commissioners to present plans and specifications for a new courthouse, and they were to serve free of charge.[19]

Later they were appointed a building committee. On November 11, 1872, a vote of thanks was extended to them, and the committee discharged, the work having been finished to the entire satisfaction of the public and the approval of the tax-payers. The total cost of the building was $41,884.85; no charge of fraud or graft was ever heard. This building still stands, a monument to the men who planned and supervised its construction and to the people who contributed their money for its erection.

[19] Police Court Records, June 20, 1870.

The Freedmen's Bureau.

Little information has been obtained concerning the Freedmen's Bureau, as the records make only slight mention of this organization. No complaint was ever made by the negroes that their liberty had been denied them. On August 9, 1866, *The Peoples' Press* states that there was no Freedmen's Bureau in the county, but that a commissioner's court had been instituted to attend to such work as would come before that body. On September 26, 1867, it mentions the fact that a Freedmen's Bureau agent had recently appeared in DeSoto County from Sardis, Panola County, and it adds a prediction that he would have no work to do, as there was none to be done. But on April 2, 1868, some fear is manifested lest "the bureau should be continued, though its work had long since been done."

Ku Klux Klan.

Relative to the Ku Klux Klan, Ab Dickson, an old citizen of Hernando, Mississippi, says that he does not think that there ever was any real Ku Klux in DeSoto County. He adds that in some places, Hernando for instance, there were military companies which did splendid service during campaigns and election times.

Other citizens seem to think that the real Ku Klux Klan did exist in the county. Mr. L. L. Jones, Cub Lake, Miss., contributes the following information:

Forrest, who lived in Memphis at this time (1875), was the chief organizer of the Ku Klux in the South, and, in DeSoto County, Pad S. Myers was Grand Gould and organizer; he received his instructions from Forrest. Myers organized, in each Supervisors District, a klan, called a company. Each company consisted of twenty-four men, and had a captain and three lieutenants. I remember the captains of the Second and Third and Fourth Districts only. They were, respectively: Jobe Day, Jim McCrowan (both deceased) and myself. My lieutenants were Rufus Jones, Wm. Rollons and Asa Doggett.

We wore uniforms of black, with two rows of large, white buttons up and down the front and back, arranged crossing each other. Our hats were very high—about two feet—and white. Those of the officers were much higher than the privates. Our horses, also, were arrayed in white. No man, except the staunchest sort, was allowed to become a member of the Ku Klux. All members were bound by a strict oath, under severe penalties in case of their violation, taken blind-folded and on bended

knee. My wife, Mat, and Asa Doggett's wife were members, too. We had to take in a few women in order to have some one to make our uniforms and do any sewing for us.

We met every two weeks—always at night—and usually at the Bluff Springs, a place about three miles southeast of Cub Lake. We made our rides at mysterious hours of the night, and in weird fashion. We would ride up to a negro's house, summon him out, warn him in a deep, foreboding tone against voting or doing certain things, perform some ominous trick and ride off. Two of my men carried large rubber bags, and frequently, pretending to be thirsty, ordered a negro to bring some water, and when it was brought, drank (apparently) the whole bucket, and then ordered more, declaring that "demons from hell had to have lots of water.

The night before the election in 1875, we rode all night long, scaring negroes and warning them to stay away from the polls.

In April, 1868, a Ku Klux Klan made a maneuver north and south of Hernando,[20] and on October 1, 1868, the *Press* states that the "Ku Klux made its debut in this vicinity a few nights ago." Similar references appeared in this paper several times after this, but none of them afford any information about the objects of these mysterious movements. The most exciting reference is one which charges the K. K. K. with "destroying a cabin and intimidating a negro near Senatobia on October 11, 1871."

No information or court records show that any court proceedings were ever held over any Ku Klux affairs.

Economic Conditions.

There seems to have been a scarcity of labor in DeSoto County during the reconstruction period, in spite of the efforts of the citizens to overcome this handicap. *The Peoples' Press* for February 15, 1866, says:

So far as we are informed, they (the citizens) are doing as well as might be supposed, all things considered. Our citizens through the county have not succeeded in getting a supply of laborers, and consequently many open fields will not be cultivated this year.

In the issue for May 23, 1865, reference is made to a meeting on May 20th of the DeSoto County Agricultural Society—Robt. Temple, president; Felix Labauve, secretary and treasurer.

---

[20] *The Peoples' Press,* April 26, 1868.

In 1867, the crops were very poor—too much rain and grass and too few laborers.[21] This condition led to a meeting of the citizens at Hernando on Thursday, December 12, 1867, "to discuss the threatened famine in consequence of no crop, low prices, shortage of laborers, etc." Accordingly, Henry Dockery, Robt. Wilkinson, T. S. Tate, A. W. Stokes, Joseph Rogers and John G. Nesbit were chosen as delegates to attend the Immigration Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, March 31, 1868.[22]

In April, the Immigration Convention recommended the importation of labor. Persons were selected to deliver lectures on the subject over DeSoto and other counties, as follows: At Hernando, April 13th; at Senatobia, April 14th; at Sardis, April 15th; at Batesville, April 16th; at Oakland, April 17th; at Grenada, April 18th.

On the appointed day, addresses were made at Hernando, and the "Free Land and Colonization Company of DeSoto County, Mississippi," was organized. Among the names of the speakers are found those of John Everett, of London, Colonel Labauve, P. Miller, T. W. White and General Wallace. Five trustees were appointed to manage the affairs of the company: H. Dockery, T. S. Tate, W. H. Johnson, T. W. White and J. B. Morgan. Three thousand acres of land were subscribed.

But nothing more is learned of this organization or of labor problems; it is supposed that the company went down very soon without accomplishing anything definite. At any rate, no foreign laborers were imported, though some Swedes came about this time, of their own accord.

---

[21] *The Peoples' Press,* July 18, 1867.
[22] *The Peoples' Press,* March 26, 1868.

APPENDIX A.

Boards of Police, or Supervisors, from 1865-1876.

1865.

First District, A. F. Powers.
Second District, J. P. McCrackin.
Third District, W. J. Veazey.
Fourth District, W. J. Bynum.
F. B. White, President.

A. W. Smith, Clerk.[23]

1866.

First District, W. J. Wilroy.
Second District, P. M. Morgan.
Third District, W. J. Veazey.
Fourth District, Samuel L. Raines.
Fifth District, Wm. Henry Johnson, President.

L. G. Willard, Clerk.[24]

1867.

First District, John W. Anderson.
Second District, P. M. Morgan.
Third District, W. J. Veazey.
Fourth District, Samuel L. Raines.
Fifth District Wm. Henry Johnson.
A. W. Smith, Clerk.

1869 (Appointed by Ames).

First District, A. F. Cole.
Second District, John A. Scott.
Third District, Sowell Newsom.
Fourth District, Felix Davis.
Fifth District, Wm. R. Oliver, President.[25]

1870.

Special June term.—The board was appointed by Governor Alcorn: First District, George W. Mason, Republican; Second District, John A. Scott, Republican; Third District, Sowell Newsom, Republican; Fourth District, Francis Hill, Republican; Fifth District, J. C. Acre, Republican (?); A. W. Smith, Clerk.

April 3, 1871.

By the action of the Governor:

The following were removed:
First District, G. W. Mason.
Second District, (not removed).
Third District, Sowell Newsom.
Fourth District, Francis Hill.
Fifth District, J. C. Acre.

The following were appointed:
Peter McKenney.
John A. Scott.
J. H. Cocke, President
T. O. Bridgeforth.
E. Bouldin.[26]

---

[23] The courthouse having been destroyed just before this time, the board met at A. W. Smith's for business. See Police Court Records, Vol. O, p. 427.

[24] This board was organized in October, 1865. See Police Court Records, Vol. O, p. 466.

[25] At the October term, Wm. Oliver, President, was superseded by Marion Campbell (Rep.), and A. F. Cole by H. N. Ballard (Rep.). The board was reorganized, and H. N. Ballard elected President. See *The Peoples' Press,* April 15, 1869; May 6, 1869; Police Court Records, October, 1869.

[26] At the meeting of a special term in June 12, 1871, the minutes show that the Governor had appointed Mark A. Thornton to supersede John A. Scott, and J. W. McCall to serve from the Fourth District, Peter McKenney not having accepted his appointment.

October 19, 1871.

By the action of the Governor:

The following were removed:
First District, J. W. McCall.
Second District, Mark A. Thornton.
Third District, J. H. Cocke, President.
Fourth District, T. O. Bridgeforth.
Fifth District, E. Bouldin.

The following were appointed:
J. H. Lucas.
John A. Scott.
Sowell Newsom, President.
W. B. Battle.

November 11, 1871.

First Fistrict, C. A. Marshall (Dem.).
Second District, M. A. Thornton (Dem.).
Third District, W. J. Veasey, President.
Fourth District, Felix Davis.
Fifth District, W. B. Battle.[27]

January 5, 1874.

First District, W. J. Wilroy (Dem.).
Second District, W. R. McCorkle (Rep. negro).
Third District, C. F. Smith (Dem.), President.
Fourth District, M. S. Kirkland (Dem.).
Fifth District, Austin Bell (Rep. negro).
Clerk, J. N. Campbell.

January 3, 1876.

By election in November, 1875, the following men became members of the board: First District, J. W. Side; Second District, W. R. McCorkle (negro); Third District, J. A. Albritton (negro); Fourth District, C. R. Jones (Dem.), President; Fifth District, T. W. Wheeler.

APPENDIX B.

Sheriffs.

The following dates are only approximately correct:

1. J. C. Culberson was Sheriff and Tax-Collector for 1864 and a portion of 1865.[28]

2. Donald McKenzie succeeded J. C. Culberson.[29]

3. W. J. Bynum executed a Sheriff's bond for two years from the first Monday in January, 1867, but resigned November 22, 1867.[30]

4. Major-General E. O. Ord appointed Joseph Rogers Sheriff on December 7, 1867, and he took the oath of office December 21, 1867.

5. Josiah Dailey succeeded Joseph Rogers as Sheriff in April or May, 1869. Rogers was removed April 9, 1869.[31]

6. A. Thompson succeeded Josiah Dailey.[32]

7. J. J. Evans, a negro, was elected Sheriff on November 4, 1873, and served two years.

---

[27] W. B. Battle resigned January 1, 1872, and T. C. Dockery was elected in February to succeed him. W. J. Veasey, President, resigned July 1, 1872 and T. S. Tate succeeded him in August. T. C. Dockery was made President of the Board upon the resignation of Veasey.

[28] Police Court Records, Special Term, July 17, 1865; also April, 1868.

[29] Police Court Records, July, 1866; *Peoples' Press,* March 15, 1866.

[30] Bond Book A, p. 73; Police Court Records, Vol. O, p. 614. This step was taken in order to prevent removal.

[31] Police Court Records, May 31, 1869, Special Term; *The Peoples' Press,* June 3, and June 10, 1869.

[32] Police Court Records, July Term, July 8-9, 1873.

APPENDIX C.

Tax Statistics of DeSoto County from 1865-1876.[33]

	Land Assessment.		State Tax.	Personal Assessment.	State Tax.	Acres of Land Sold for Taxes.
	Acres.	Value.				
1866	528,330	....	$ 4,147 32	877,114 00	$13,356 38	.....
1867	.....	.....	.....	1,199,455 00	16,988 32	6,475
1868	.....	.....	.....	841,333 00	14,079 95	9,240
1869	.....	.....	.....	918,364 00	13,139 56	5,657
1870	535,532½	$6,158,500 33	30,792 00	2,448,650 00	12,243 25	734
1871	530,518⅛	5,267,137 50	21,068 55	1,694,245 60	6,776 97	13,861
1872	.....	.....	.....	1,908,854 00	16,181 20	13,515
1873	278,399	2,913,223	24,762 44	1,064,235 00	9,042 20	356
1874	265,862	2,731,658	27,316 58	909,711 00 and teachers 3,585 00	8,962 80	9,883
1875	256,528½	1,773,035½	12,854 27	605,138 00	4,337 99	25,906
1876	.....	.....	11,876 17	687,124 00	12,643 56 Military, 4,391 50	8,623
1877	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	798

Using the State rate of taxation as the basis of taxation for various purposes, the rates of taxation were as follows:

Date.	State Rate.	General Levy.	County Levy.	Rate.	
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1866	3½ mills	100	Pauper, 10	....	....
1867	.....	100	" 10	....	....
1868	.....	.....	.....	....	....
1869	1 mill	75	Pauper, 25	....	....
1870	5 mills	.....	.....	....	....
1871	4 mills	37½	Pauper, 5	Court House, 50	Schools, 50
1872	8½ mills	20	" 4	" 33⅓	Teachers, 20
1873	12½ mills	44½	" 12½	....	Schools, 3
1874	14 mills	40	Contingent, 2	" 6	" 4
1875	9½ mills	25	Judiciary, 33⅓	" 12½	" 4
1876	6½ mills	30	" 30	" 25	" 15

[33] Notice in all of the following statistics that the division of the county in 1872 caused a decrease and affected the white population more than the black.

APPENDIX D.

Party Strength, 1865-1876.

Votes by parties in elections from 1865 to 1876 were:[34]

October, 1866, total vote cast, 1,729.
November, 1869, total vote cast, 1,516.
July, 1868, votes cast for the constitution, 413; against it, 2,167; total vote, 2,580.
November, 1869, the Radical majority was 640.
November, 1871, the Radical majority was 111.
November, 1876, the total vote cast was 4,214; the Democratic majority, 878.

Registration By Races.

By races, the votes from 1865 to 1876 were:
September, 1866, whites, 1,550; blacks, ———; total, ———.
August, 1867, whites, 1,916; blacks, 2,254; total, 4,270.
June, 1868, whites, 2,320; blacks, 2,383; total, 4,703.
November, 1870, whites, ———; blacks, ———; total, 3,353.
November, 1871, whites, 3,358; blacks, 3,534; total, 6,892.
November, 1876, whites, ———; blacks, ———; total, 4,434.

Population By Races.

1860, whites, 1,919 (polls), blacks, 13,735; total, ———.
1866, whites, 1,550 (polls); blacks, 12,747; total, ———.
1870, whites, 14,077; blacks, 17,760; total, 31,837.
1880, whites, 7,511; blacks, 14,996; total, 22,507.

[34] More complete returns are not accessible.

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW PERIOD IN MISSISSIPPI.

By G. H. Brunson.[1]

The administration of President Jackson marks the beginning of a new period of political life in the United States. There was to be no change in the Constitution, nor in the organic machinery of our government; but the Constitution received a new interpretation and a more vigorous democracy learned to assert itself. During the later twenties and the early thirties of the nineteenth century the New West increased in population at a marvelous rate, acquiring numbers enough to compel its recognition in the choice of Presidents and in the legislation of Congress. In the decade from 1820 to 1830 the commonwealths of the Mississippi Valley increased in population from 2,217,000 to nearly 3,700,000, a gain of about a million and a half. The

[1] George Henry Brunson was born and reared in Clark County, Mississippi, fourteen miles south of Meridian. He is the son of William Lawrence and Margaret M. Brunson. He was graduated at Mississippi College in 1894. In 1900 he became professor of history in his alma mater. He has done graduate work at the University of Chicago, from which institution he received his master's degree. He also spent the session of 1907-'08 in graduate work at Columbia University. In 1910 he resigned the chair of history at Mississippi College to accept a position in the School of Industrial Education at the Mississippi A. and M. College. He was married in 1897 to Bessie Chandler, of West Point, Mississippi.

Professor Brunson's paternal grandparents, Harvey Pinkney Brunson and Martha Elizabeth Brunson, were born and reared in Sumter District, South Carolina. They later moved to Tennessee, thence to Alabama, settling in Sumter County, near Old Town, Mississippi. His grandfather was a pioneer Baptist preacher. In 1841 he removed with his family to Lauderdale County, Mississippi, thence to Clark County, where Prof. Brunson's father has lived for forty years, with the exception of the time spent in the Confederate Army. Prof. Brunson's father, William Lawrence Brunson, was sergeant in Company B, Thirty-seventh Mississippi Regiment.

Professor Brunson's mother, Margaret M. Brunson, was the daughter of Simeon and Nacy Davis. She was born and reared in Jasper County, Mississippi. She and Mr. Brunson were married in 1859, and have reared a family of thirteen, six boys and seven girls. In November, 1909, there was a family gathering at the old homestead in celebration of the golden wedding, which was attended by the thirteen children, all grown, about forty grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.—Editor.

percentages of increase in some of the newer communities are significant—Mississippi, 81 per cent; Alabama, 142 per cent; Indiana, 133 per cent, and Illinois, 185 per cent. Ohio, one of the older commonwealths of the valley, had an increase of 61 per cent during the same decade, and in 1830 had nearly a million, surpassing the population of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined.[2] This increase was not made up of an alien population, but it drifted in, for the most part, from the older States of the Union. And when it is considered that these newcomers were men who sought more elbow-room than was to be had in the older States, who sought greater opportunities than older communities offered, and who, with a love of adventure and a self-assertion characteristic of the new region, pushed into the frontier, it will be seen that this New West was a section that must be reckoned with. And in their social, industrial and political ideals these semi-frontiersmen were destined to react powerfully on the older section of the Union. "A new section had arisen and was growing at such a rate that a description of it in any single year would be falsified before it could be published."

The invention of the cotton gin by Ely Whitney the latter part of the eighteenth century had gradually revolutionized the industrial life of the South and produced an acceleration of expansion to the southwest. This invention made it possible to cultivate profitably the short staple variety of cotton, and opened to the South a source of wealth hitherto unknown. The discovery that this staple could be produced on the uplands and in the lower Mississippi Valley brought a swarm of eager cotton-growers into these regions. With the advantage of a virgin soil, the new States of the Southwest soon distanced the Seaboard States in the production of cotton. In the year 1801 the four Atlantic Southern States produced thirty-nine million pounds, while the valley portion, including Florida, produced only one million; by 1811 the relative numbers of millions in the two sections were seventy-five and five; by 1821, one hundred and seventeen to sixty; by 1826, one hundred and eighty to one

[2] Turner's *Rise of the New West* (American Nation Series) 70, 71.

hundred and fifty; by 1834, the predominance was reversed and stood at one hundred and sixty to two hundred and ninety-seven million pounds.

While expanding both in population and in the production of its great staple, the South, by reason of its industrial differentiation from other sections of the Union, began to realize that it had interests peculiar to its own situation. The older States of the Union had a tolerably uniform development of industries after the War of 1812, with the exception of the growth of cotton in the lower Seaboard States. The Northwest was rapidly becoming the great grain-producing region. With the expansion of slavery, the South and Southwest were in the process of becoming a section of cotton-growers on a large scale. Founded as this section was, socially and industrially, on a "peculiar institution," the South not only accepted slavery now as necessary to its wellbeing, but began to defend it vigorously when it was attacked by other sections.[3]

Mississippi had the characteristics of both the West and the South. The spirit of broad democracy it had in common with the West; the Constitution of 1832 had no qualification for suffrage or for office, except age.[4] Her rich alluvial soil was destined to make her for many years the leading cotton State in the Union. The Yazoo-Mississippi delta within the State's borders was the heart of the great Black Belt of the Mississippi Valley. The plantation system, with its necessary accompaniment—slavery—had already begun to develop in the older portion of the State—the Old Natchez District; and with the opening of the Choctaw and Chickasaw region to white settlers, the system rapidly extended there. Thus Mississippi had as much at stake in slavery as any Southern State, and her planters became, under the leadership of Quitman and Davis, militant defenders of that institution.

Another phase of the new period, in local as well as national politics, was the coalition in the early thirties of several factions into a party of opposition to President Jackson and the changing

[3] Ibid., 45-47.
[4] Thorpe's *American Charters,* IV, 2049.

of party names. The insurgent element of the old Republican party served as a nucleus for the formation of the new party, the alleged ground of dissent being that the President was expanding the sphere of the executive at the expense of the coördinate branches of government. Party numbers have been so one-sided in recent years that it appears a little startling to a present-day citizen of the younger generation when he is told that for thirty years before the war there was in the State a compact Whig organization, able sometimes to carry elections for State and Federal offices. As long as the Sage of the Hermitage wanted the presidency there was no use for anyone else to offer in Mississippi, for many of the men then in public life in the State had fought for him as Mississippi Riflemen in the battle of New Orleans, under their own General Thomas Hinds, and had won his praise for gallantry. But the old hero had scarcely relaxed his grip on the helm before the Whigs in Mississippi had elected a Governor and a delegation of representatives in Congress.

With the acquisition of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian lands in 1830 and 1832, respectively, Mississippi attained her full territorial stature. When the State was admitted into the Union in 1817 there were only fourteen counties, located in the southern portion. The Choctaws ceded more territory in 1820, in the western part, an addition of about one-sixth of the entire area of the State. Early in his administration President Jackson began to develop his policy of the voluntary removal of the southern Indian tribes to territory reserved for them west of the Mississippi River. He recommended in his message to Congress in 1829 that ample territory be set apart for them where they should be subjected to as little interference by whites as was consistent with the security of order. The Indians should be encouraged to remove there at the expense of the government, but forcible removal would be both cruel and unjust. Provision should also be made for those who chose to remain in the States; but if they remained, they must submit to the laws of the States and relinquish claim to their unimproved lands. In conformity with the President's recommendation,

Congress enacted a law in May, 1830, providing for the exchange of the lands held by the Indians east of the Mississippi for lands west of it, and appropriating $500,000 for their removal.[5]

Anticipating the action of Congress, the Legislative Assembly of Mississippi, probably with the private sanction of the President, had extended the laws of the State over the Indian lands in 1829.[6] A year later a supplemental act abolished their tribal government and the office of chief, and gave the Indians citizenship in the State.[7] The two tribes occupied a territory a little more extensive than all the rest of the State; it had a temperate climate, was unsurpassed in fertility, produced a great variety of products, and was especially suited to the growth of cotton; threaded with what was then considered navigable streams, this splendid realm was, from the white man's point of view, necessary for the well-being of civilized human life. The object of this aggressive legislation was to induce the tribes to consider the exchange of their lands for western reservations.[8] It had the desired effect; in 1830 the Choctaws agreed in a great council of the nation to the terms of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit. Each Choctaw head of a family who desired to remain in the State and made application to the registering agent of the United States within six months was to have reserved from their lands six hundred and forty acres, with smaller amounts for his children, unmarried and living with him. The tribe was to receive $20,000 a year for twenty years when it should occupy the new home. The three chiefs were liberally provided for, each with $250 a year and four sections of land in the State. Two years later, in October, 1832, the Chickasaws, at their council-house on Pontotoc Creek, entered a similar agreement with officers of the United States.[9]

The negotiation of the treaty with the Choctaws was characterized by intimidation and the execution of its terms, with inef-

---

[5] MacDonald's *Jacksonian Democracy* (American Nation Series), 172-173; Richardson's *Messages and Papers,* II, 458.
[6] *Laws of Miss.,* 1829; also Hutchinson's *Code,* 135.
[7] Hutchinson's *Code,* 136.
[8] *Mississippian,* Sept. 25, 1835, speech of Robt. J. Walker.
[9] *United States Statutes at Large,* VII.

ficiency and probably with fraud. Their tribal organization having been destroyed, they were made to understand that if they remained, they would be subjected to the cunning of their more intelligent white neighbors, living among them. There is no doubt but that appeal was made to their fear, and that the fourteenth article of the treaty, guaranteeing liberal reservations to those who chose to remain in the State, was presented in a very seductive form.[10] But in the execution of this agreement, the government was represented by an official who grossly neglected his duties and consequently deprived many Indians of their just claims. Through carelessly-kept records, he left the way open for abuses in entering claims. Crafty speculators of the white race swarmed into the territory to enter claims in the name of the Indians. Some Choctaws had made entries, but, through the carelessness of Col. William Ward, the official appointed to take the declarations of those who desired to remain, these had in many instances been lost; there was left no evidence of their declarations except receipts in possession of the Indians, many of which receipts were exhibited. To others, reservations were justly due, but, on account of the short time allowed, they did not have the opportunity to perfect their claims. Some of these now made application, hoping that Congress would allow the claims. Still others were entered with more or less fraudulent intent. In some cases two entries were made in the name of the same person, spelt differently. Some Choctaws were induced to come back from across the Mississippi to make entries, contrary to the terms of the treaty. The suspicion and evidence of fraudulent practices led to repeated investigations by the Legislative Assembly and by Congress, extending over a period of more than a dozen years, and the matter finally got mixed up in State politics.[11]

The opening up to white settlement and to the cotton industry of 15,705,000 acres of virgin soil, comprising the prairies of North Mississippi and much of the river bottom lands of the valley, was not without great results to the social, industrial and

[10] *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 373.
[11] *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII, 345.

political life of the State. The loss to the community of approximately 20,000 Indians was offset many times over by the accessions in a few years from the older States.

Another change marking the beginning of the new period in Mississippi was the adoption in 1832 of a new and popular constitution. The Democratic upheaval which raised Jackson to the presidency was a consequence of the broadening of suffrage which had been in progress since the beginning of the century. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, Alabama, Maine and Missouri had entered the Union with manhood suffrage, specifically provided by law, or virtually admitted in practice. The example of these new States reacted on the older so that a demand for an extended suffrage for their citizens could not be denied. Maryland in 1810, Connecticut in 1818, New York in 1821, and Massachusetts in 1822 abolished their property qualifications. In the meantime, as has been seen, there was a rapid flow of population westward and southwestward. "Jackson's triumph was the result of political forces generated by this increase in the electorate."[12] *The Mississippian,* in the infancy of political influence as the State organ of Jacksonian Democracy, early announced that its policy, with reference to the constitution, was "The election of all important public officers by direct popular agency."[13] Henry S. Foote, one of the editors of that paper, then published at Vicksburg but later moved to Jackson, had for months advocated the election of all administrative as well as judicial officers by direct vote of the people.[14]

Some of the noteworthy features of this constitution will illustrate the extent to which Democratic ideas prevailed. The declaration of rights asserted that there should be no property qualification for suffrage or for eligibility to office; that the people are capable of self-government and of electing their own officers, and ought to exercise this sovereign power through the ballot-box. The Constitution of 1817, on which the State had been admitted into the Union, provided for the appointment of

[12] Ford's *Rise and Growth of American Politics,* 167.
[13] *Mississippian,* Jan. 9, 1832.
[14] Ibid., Jan. to May, 1832, *passim.*

all judges to hold during good behavior; the new organic law forbade the election or appointment of any officer during good behavior. The justices of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, together with a chancellor with equity jurdisdiction over the entire State, were elected for a term of six years by popular vote. Under the former constitution, the Treasurer, Secretary of State and Auditor were chosen by the Legislative Assembly; now they must be elected by the people. The earlier constitution had a property qualification for holding office, but all men twenty-one years old and citizens of the United States, who had been enrolled in the State militia and had paid State or county tax were eligible to vote; the new constitution swept all away except the age requirement. The importation of slaves into the State as merchandise or for sale was forbidden after the first day of May, 1833; but citizens might bring in slaves for their own use until 1845. John A. Quitman was the author of a clause incorporated in the constitution forbidding the pledging of the State's credit for the purpose of banking, unless passed by two successive legislatures.[15]

William L. Sharkey and John A. Quitman both vigorously opposed an elective judiciary, and both were elected to judicial office for the first term under the new constitution, the one to the High Court of Errors and Appeals, where he served for many years as Chief Justice, the other as Chancellor.[16]

Quitman, a member of the convention from Natchez, in Adams County, made an effort to have the new organic law submitted to a vote of the people of the State for ratification, but in this he failed.[17]

[15] Thorpe's *American Charters*, IV, 2049; Claiborne's *Mississippi*, 472, 478.
[16] Claiborne's *Quitman*, I, 128; Foote's *Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest*, 65.
[17] *Journal Constitutional Convention*, 1832, 289.

THE FRENCH TRADING POST AND THE CHOCCHUMA[1] VILLAGE IN EAST MISSISSIPPI.

By H. S. Halbert.[2]

Plymouth, an extinct village in Lowndes County, Mississippi, was situated on the west side of the Tombigbee River, near the mouth of Oktibbeha, or Tibbee Creek. It was at first an Indian settlement and well known for many years as being the home of Major John Pitchlyn, United States interpreter for the Choctaws. It subsequently became an American village and was a noted place for the shipment of cotton.[3] When the whites first began to settle there in 1833, they found on land belonging to Calvin Howell, an Indian countryman, an ancient, strange looking building, which for the last fifty years has been the subject of much local speculation. It is strange that no one ever thought about interrogating Pitchlyn in his lifetime in regard to the building, for he might have been familiar with the tradition of its origin. The house, which became the property of Mr. Orlando Canfield, who bought Howell's land, stood upon a slight elevation and was about five hundred yards distant from the river. It was surrounded by a circular ditch with an embankment, about two hundred yards in circumference. Some faint traces of the embankment may yet be seen. The fort, as it was commonly called, was a two-story building, some twenty feet square, made of large cedar logs, hewn on two sides. There was a door to the lower story, but no windows. On each side of the door were some holes, evidently made for gun men. The

[1] Chocchuma is a corrupt English spelling and pronunciation of "Shakchi homma," which means *Red Crawfish;* "shakchi," *crawfish,* "homma," *red.* The tribal name is spelled in various ways by Spanish, French, English and American writers.

[2] A biographical sketch of the writer of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* III, 353.—Editor.

[3] A brief sketch of this interesting place will be found in Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* V, 354-355.—Editor.

upper story had eight windows, two on each side, and two holes under each window, sixteen in all. The roof was made of cedar shingles, nearly an inch and a half thick, fastened to the lathing with wrought-iron nails. The fort was torn down by Mr. Canfield in 1860, and the timbers were used, some in building various outhouses, and some in building a small bridge on the public road. When torn down, it was noticed that the exposed ends of the shingles were nearly worn away, an evidence of the antiquity of the house.

I now offer a possible solution of the mystery of this ancient fort:

On March 26, 1702, Iberville held at Fort Mobile a great council of the Southern Indians, composed of representatives from the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Tohomies and the Naniabas. Iberville succeeded at this council in making a peace between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, and in order to attach them firmly to the French interest, the Governor promised that he would establish a trading post at a midway place between the two tribes, where they could procure all kinds of merchandise in exchange for their buffalo, deer and bear skins. The Indians designated a place for the site of the promised trading post. That the mouth of Oktibbeha Creek, the site of Plymouth, was the place where the Indians wished that the trading post should be established, seems evident from a consideration of the following facts:

Immediately after the council, in order to still further strengthen the French influence, Iberville wrote letters to the mission priests stationed among the Yazoo and Mississippi River tribes, instructing them to inform their people of the peace made between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. Apart from this, he especially charged Father Davion, among the Tunicas, to tell those Chocchumas, then refugees in the Tunica country, "to return to their village which was about three or four leagues from the place where he would establish the trading post on the river."[4]

[4] Margry's *Decouvertes*, Vol. IV, pp. 517. 519, 520.

This particularity of statement by Iberville clearly shows that this Chocchuma village can be no other than the noted Chocchuma village, situated on Lyon's Bluff, on the south side of Line Creek, in Oktibbeha County. The site of the village is about twelve miles from Plymouth, which harmonizes sufficiently well with Iberville's three or four French leagues, which distance he must have taken from the Indians' more or less imperfect estimates of distance.

As a digression, it may be mentioned that the destruction of this Chocchuma village by the allied Choctaws and Chickasaws, the memory of which is still perpetuated in local tradition, must have taken place not long after the capture of Pensacola by the Spaniards in 1781, when the Indians were no longer under English control.

In view of the recorded distance from the Chocchuma village to the contemplated trading post, it may then be accepted as a certain fact that the site of the modern Plymouth was the place where Iberville promised to establish this post. But for the actual establishment of the post, so far we have no historic evidence. Iberville's last report to the Minister of Marine was written in February, 1703, and in it he makes no mention of a trading post on the Tombigbee. Thenceforth for Mobile history we are dependent upon the narrative of Penicaut, who certainly did not record every event or transaction with which he was contemporary. If then, there ever was a trading post established at Plymouth, it must have been at some time between 1703 and 1711, during some of the short intervals of peace between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, and the post must have had a brief existence.

Assuming as a fact the establishing by the French of a trading post at Plymouth, it may be that the cedar fort was built for a small garrison stationed there for its protection. In course of time the trading-house and other buildings, not being made of very durable materials, must have mouldered away, and that long before the coming of Major Pitchlyn. On the other hand, it is not surprising that the fort itself had a longer existence, for built of heavy cedar logs and covered with very thick cedar

shingles, it could well withstand, unimpaired, the wear and tear of eight score years.

This array of facts and conjectures is given with the hope, that with the discovery of new materials bearing upon Mobile history, some document or manuscript will come to light that will verify these statements, or in some manner solve the mystery of the old cedar fort at Plymouth.

As the location of the Chocchuma village gives the clue to the site of the trading-post supposedly established by Iberville or Bienville, some further notice of this village may be of interest to the student of Southern antiquities.

When DeSoto was in the Chickasaw country in his winter quarters near Red Land, 1540-1541, the Chickasaw chief concocted a scheme to destroy the Spanish army. He waited upon DeSoto and told him that one of his vassals, a Chocchuma chief, had revolted and withheld his tribute. He wished the Spanish explorer's assistance in invading the rebellious chief's country and there giving him the chastisement he merited. The design of the Chickasaw chief was to withdraw a part of the Spanish force away on this expedition, and while the army was thus divided, two attacks by two separate Chickasaw bands would do the work, one cutting off that part of the army in the Chocchuma country, while the other would devote their energies to the destruction of the remaining troops at Red Land. DeSoto at the beginning evidently saw through the design, but yielded to the request, and with a force set out on the expedition, accompanied by the chief at the head of two hundred warriors armed with bows and arrows. The expedition is thus very meagerly described by the Knight of Elvas:

"The Governor, taking thirty cavalry and eighty infantry, marched to Saquechuma [Chocchuma], the province of the chief whom the Cacique said had rebelled. The town was untenanted, and the Indians, for greater dissimulation set fire to it, but the people with the Governor being very careful and vigilant, as were also those that had been left in Chicasa, no enemy dared to fall upon them.[5]

The Chocchuma Indians in DeSoto's day, as well as in later

[5] See *Narratives of DeSoto* (Trail Makers Series, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 101, 102.

times, seem to have lived in two localities, or areas of country, one on the Yalobusha and Yazoo Rivers, the other in a town or village on Line Creek in Oktibbeha County. Which was the town or place visited by DeSoto on that expedition? From the fact that the village on Line Creek was nearer and more accessible to the Chickasaws than those on the Yazoo—this Line Creek town being about forty-five miles distant from Red Land, and easily reached by a trail which must have run down there on the ridge by way of the present town of Houston, in Chickasaw County—it is the best and most reasonable supposition that this was the town visited by the detachment of DeSoto's army. Again, the proximity of the town to the Chickasaws doubtless induced very friendly relations, which would render its people very willing to enter into a plot with the Chickasaw chief for the destruction of the Spaniards. Such would hardly have been the case with the more distant Chocchuma villages on the Yazoo. These facts strongly incline to the belief that the Chocchuma village on Line Creek, in Oktibbeha County, was actually the one visited by DeSoto. And, to conclude, if this position could be established without doubt or controversy, it would give us the most southern point in East Mississippi, west of the Tombigbee visited by the Spaniards. A close study of the DeSoto narratives clearly shows that DeSoto did not cross the Tombigbee at Waverly, but at the old Chickasaw crossing at Cotton Gin, whence he marched to his winter quarters at Chicasa, near Red Land, in Pontotoc County.

LIFE AND SERVICES OF DAVID WARD SANDERS.

By Governor E. F. Noel.[1]

1. Autobiographical Sketch.[2]

David Ward Sanders was born October 14, 1836, at Franklin, Holmes County, Mississippi.

His first schooling was at Franklin, in the church which was built by his grandfather, Colonel Daniel M. Dulaney, and, with five acres of ground, was dedicated to the public for church and school purposes, with the right and privilege to any minister of a Protestant church, at any time, to hold services therein, and many of the most noted ministers, at an early date in the history of Holmes County, preached in this church, which still stands.

On the 20th of November, 1846, with his sister, Margaret, he left for North Carolina, by the way of Yazoo City, New Orleans, Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta, Augusta, Charleston and by steamship from Charleston to his destination, Wilmington, North Carolina. This trip consumed about twelve days, being by steamboat, and here and there on railroads and in stage coaches.

He prepared for the University of North Carolina in the academies of Eastern North Carolina, completed his course in the University of North Carolina, and returned to Holmes County, Mississippi, in 1855.

---

[1] The following contributions were collected from different sources and submitted by Governor E. F. Noel for publication in this volume.

Major Sanders' sister, Margaret, was married to Mr. Leland Noel in 1832. From that date until he began the practice of law at Louisville, Ky., Major Sanders remained in the Noel home, in the country, near Lexington, Mississippi. After his removal to Louisville, his nephew, Gov. E. F. Noel, spent four years (1872-1876) in his home, attending the Louisville High School and reading law under his direction. During this period, and afterward, their relation was as intimate and as affectionate as that of a father and son.—Editor.

[2] The following sketch was dictated by Major Sanders on April 12, 1906. He died, after a brief illness, on November 1, 1909.—Editor.

He read law at Lexington, Mississippi, in the office of Hon. Walker Brook, and was admitted to the bar in 1857. He was elected to the Legislature from Holmes County in 1859, served one regular session and four called sessions. He voted for the call of the Secession Convention, which led to secession of Mississippi, on January 9, 1861.

He was married to Miss Anne Stephens at Yazoo City, January 9, 1861.

Military Observations and Experiences.

Major Sanders served with General French in North Carolina and Virginia, and was with General French when he fortified the lines around Petersburg and at Wilmington, North Carolina. General French built the first sand fort ever constructed, being Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, opposite Fort Caswell.

Major Sanders was with General French in the night attack on McClellan's camp, October 31, 1862, on the James River, opposite Harrison's Landing. He was with General French at Goldsboro and different points in Eastern North Carolina, in the winter of 1862-63, defending that section of the State from the advances of the Eighteen Army Corps, United States Army, under command of Major General John G. Foster.

In April, 1863, Major Sanders was with General French, General Longstreet commanding the corps, in front of Suffolk, between the Black Water and the Nansemond Rivers, when General Longstreet, with his command, was ordered by General Lee to reinforce him to fight the battle of Chancellorsville. French's Division reached Petersburg, Virginia, when he was relieved and ordered to report to General Joseph E. Johnston, at Jackson, Mississippi.

At General French's request, the War Department ordered most of his staff, including Major Sanders, to accompany General French to Jackson, Mississippi. They arrived at Jackson June 10, 1863, and gathered some troops, and with such other troops as General Johnston had collected, organized a division and marched to Birdsong's Ferry on the Big Black River, with

the view of attacking Grant's line in the rear, to relieve General Pemberton, at Vicksburg.

Upon arrival at Birdsong's Ferry, all preparations were made to cross the Big Black River to execute General Johnston's plan of relief, when it was unmistakably ascertained that General Pemberton had surrended the garrison at Vicksburg to General Grant. General Johnston's column then retreated on Jackson, Mississippi, where he made a stand for a number of days and defended that city from the assaults of General Sherman's army, which had marched out from Vicksburg.

General Johnston's army evacuated Jackson, crossed the Pearl River, marched through Brandon and encamped on Strong River, in Scott County, remaining there for the most of the summer, with General Leonidas Polk in command.

In the early fall a part of this command reinforced General Bragg, to fight the battle of Chickamauga. Only a small part of French's Division reached Chickamauga in time to engage in that battle, the remainder of the division being strung along the railroad from Enterprise, Mississippi, to Atlanta, Georgia, because of the inability of railroads to transport the troops.

The winter of 1863-64 was spent at Meridian and Brandon, Mississippi.

When General Sherman marched from Vicksburg, due east to Meridian, Mississippi, French's Division occupied Jackson, and crossed Pearl River under retreat, falling back to Demopolis, Alabama.

Sherman marched his column, paralleling the road from Jackson to Meridian, and occupied that town, and shortly thereafter, fell back on Vicksburg by way of Canton, Mississippi.

In the spring of 1864, French's Division marched to Lauderdale Springs, Mississippi, by way of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to Cave Springs and to Rome, Georgia, and joined General Johnston's retreating army at the battle of Resaca.

French's Division, Polk's Corps, or the "Army of Mississippi in the field," as General Polk styled it, consisted of only the three corps of the Army of Tennessee, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, in the campaign through North Georgia

to Atlanta. French's Division covered the rear on the retreat of General Johnston's army as it fell back to Atlanta, and was constantly in contact with the Federal troops, under the command of General William T. Sherman.

In all the battles and combats between the armies of Johnston and Sherman on this line of march to Jonesboro, below Atlanta, French's Division was engaged, and this division was the last of the Confederate troops to leave Atlanta on the night of its evacuation and marched to Lovejoy Station, on the railroad to Macon, south of Atlanta.

On the 18th of September, 1864, French's Division marched with Hood's army on the flank movement west of Atlanta, to Nashville, Tennessee. It should be said here, that General Joseph E. Johnston was relieved of the command of the Army of Tennessee, on the 18th day of July, 1864, and General John B. Hood succeeded him in command. Hood fought the battle of Peach Tree Creek on July 20, 1864; the battle immediately west of Atlanta, on the 22d day of July, 1864, in which General McPherson, of the Federal Army, was killed, and the battle on the left of Hood's lines at Atlanta, on the 28th day of July, 1864. He evacuated Atlanta the last of August, 1864, burning his supplies and munitions of war, railroad cars, etc., on the line of road from Atlanta to West Point.

General French, on the 3d day of July, captured Big Shanty Station, and by direction of Lieutenant-General Stewart, under orders from General John B. Hood, marched up the railroad to Ackworth and delivered battle at Alatoona Pass the day afterwards. It will be remembered that Lieutenant-General Polk was killed on June 14, 1864, at Pine Mountain, and Major-General A. P. Stewart was promoted to Lieutenant-General and placed in command of Polk's Corps, which was thereafter known as Stewart's corps.

Major Sanders carried the flag of truce demanding the surrender of the Federal garrison at Alatoona, which was refused,

and a fierce engagement followed, being one of the bloodiest combats of the war.[3]

General John M. Corse was in command of the Federal troops at Alatoona, and General French had carried all of the outer works, driven the garrison on the west side of the railroad out to the Star Fort on the east side, and the Federal garrison was in great distress, but as fast as the white flag would be run up, Corse or Lieutenant-Colonel Turtelock, of a Wisconsin regiment, would pull it down, and from the signal station on the top of a tree on a mountain within the fortified enclosure, signalled to Sherman, then south on Kennesaw Mountain, the distress of the Federal troops. Sherman signalled back, "Hold the fort—I am coming," and this signal furnished the refrain of the great gospel hymn of Moody, in his evangelistic work in later years.

French's Division was in a most critical condition. It stood in mid air at Alatoona, with the rest of Hood's Corps at Pumpkin Vine Creek, at the old battlefield of New Hope Church, of May 28, 1864, Sherman's army being nearer French than Hood, and with a division of light infantry (as General Armstrong with his cavalry reported), marching to thrust its column between Hood and French. Such was the condition when French was advised of the peril of his position, and withdrew to rejoin Hood, which he did by marching all night to New Hope Church.

The Army of Tennessee marched to Cedartown, Georgia,

---

[3] Major Sanders related, as an interesting anecdote of the battle of Alatoona and the demand made on the Federals to surrender the garrison, which was followed by the famous signal of General Sherman, that the flag of truce which he bore in making the demand, consisted of a handkerchief fastened to the butt end of a musket.

The division had been so constantly in the field, that when a search was made for some white material with which to fabricate the flag of truce, none could found until a negro servant of Major Sanders produced a white handkerchief, bearing the name stenciled thereon, "A. Coward," which had belonged to a Colonel Coward, whose regiment had been with French's Division in North Carolina during the winter of 1862-63, and which the negro had evidently appropriated. With the permission of Colonel Coward, afterwards obtained, Major Sanders kept this handkerchief for many years, but having loaned it to one of the Louisville Expositions, somebody abstracted it, and it was never restored to him.

where it rested two days. After sending all superfluous baggage and disabled men and horses to the rear, Hood commenced his flanking movement across the Coosa River, reappeared on the line of railroad from Atlanta to Chattanooga, and captured garrisons on that line up to Dalton, capturing blockhouses with garrisons at various points.

Hood then swung his army across the mountains to Gadsden, Alabama, rested there and marched to Decatur. From Decatur he proceeded to Tuscumbia, where the army bivouacked for three weeks, for the purpose of gathering supplies, reëquipping, in a measure, the army, and gathering together the cavalry under General Forrest.

He crossed the Tennessee River at Florence, Alabama, and moved in the direction of Middle Tennessee, capturing Columbia. He rested at Columbia one day, crossed the river, marched to Spring Hill, Tennessee, engaged the Fourth Army Corps of Federal troops at that point, and bivouacked for the night. Schofield's troops marched by on the pike from Columbia to Franklin, unmolested, and, as General French wittily observed to Hood the next morning, "lighted their pipes at his bivouac fires on the side of the pike," and safely reached Franklin the next morning.

The battle of Franklin was fought the next day, which was the 30th of November, 1864, and, considering the duration of the engagement and the number of troops engaged, was the bloodiest and most disastrous battle during the entire war. The night of the 30th Schofield's army retired from Franklin to Nashville in good condition and with little injury inflicted upon it.

Hood followed the day after the battle; invested Nashville, and remained in that position until the morning of the 15th of December, 1864. General Thomas then moved out on Hood's left and fought the battle of Nashville, capturing all the artillery on the left wing of Hood's army, doubling it back on the center, and driving Hood's lines in the direction of Columbia, when night came on. Hood undertook to hold these lines on the following day, the 16th, and was badly defeated, his army routed and driven back in great confusion on Franklin and Columbia.

When Hood's army reached Columbia, Tennessee, it was in a most disastrous plight. Hood sent for General Walthall, who, on the way to his headquarters, accompanied by Major Sanders, met General Hood, in company with Lieutenant Hampton and Dr. Darby, his medical director, at which time Hood said to Walthall that he must take command of the rear and enable him (Hood) and his army to escape across the Tennessee River, and, if necessary for the safety of his army, the rear guard must perish in the attempt to save it. Major Sanders is now the only survivor of that interview, but this statement was published by him in 1881, and again in 1885, when General Walthall and Dr. Darby were both living. It is absolutely true and correct.

When General Walthall was ordered to take charge of the rear guard, General Hood gave him the authority to select such commands as he chose, to consist of eight brigades of infantry, and to select his staff officers. He selected Major Sanders for his adjutant-general, Major George S. Storrs for his chief of artillery, and Lieutenant E. T. Freeman as inspector-general, and for the remainder, continued his old division staff.

Hood's army was protected by the infantry rear guard under the command of General Walthall, and the cavalry under the command of General Forrest, who by virtue of his superior rank, was in command of the entire column. This rear guard was in daily contact with the Federal troops, who pursued relentlessly, and crossed the Tennessee River near Tuscumbia, Alabama, December 28, 1864.

The Army of Tennessee, after it reached Tuscumbia, moved west, following the line of the Western and Charleston Railroad to Corinth, Mississippi. At Corinth, Stewart's Corps moved down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad to Verona, Mississippi, where it encamped.

Most of the Army of Tennessee was thereafter sent to North Carolina, and French's Division, without transportation from Meridian, was sent to Mobile. The latter, French's Division, was captured at Spanish Fort, near Mobile, and sent to Ship Island as prisoners of war.

Major Sanders wrote a history of "Hood's Tennessee Campaign," which contained the first vindication that General Frank Cheatham, of Tennessee, received, and for the first time the true facts were stated as to the movement of Confederate troops at Spring Hill, on the afternoon and night of the 29th of November, 1864. Hood blamed Cheatham for his failure to bring on a general engagement with the column of Federal troops retreating from Columbia to Franklin, Tennessee, under the command of General Schofield. For sixteen years General Cheatham labored under the obloquy of having utterly failed to do his duty as commanding officer of that corps at Spring Hill. When this publication was made, General Cheatham left his farm in Coffee County, Tennessee, to make a call on Major Sanders at Louisville, Kentucky, with whom he spent several days. General Cheatham said that he had no military documents, all of his papers having been put in the stove and burned by his niece, who was keeping house for him on his farm in Coffee County, because of the apprehension that Brownlow, the Military Governor of Tennessee, would arrest and imprison him in the penitentiary at Nashville—rumors to this effect having reached Coffee County, and therefore, without his knowledge, his papers were all destroyed. General Cheatham paid Major Sanders this visit to thank him for giving a correct history of the movement of the Confederate troops at Spring Hill, Tennessee, and during this visit he said that he had never read but two books in his life—one being the Bible, and the other Dick Taylor's *Destruction and Reconstruction.*

The history of Hood's Teenessee Campaign, as written by Major Sanders, appeared in the *Southern Bivouac,* and has been before the public for many years—since 1885-86. Prior to this, he delivered an address before the Southern Historical Society of Kentucky, at Louisville, on "Hood's Tennessee Campaign," which was published in the supplement of the *Weekly Courier-Journal* in two issues, and Mr. Walter Haldeman, the proprietor of the *Courier-Journal,* stated that he had sold over six hundred and fifty thousand copies of these supplements containing Major Sander's correction of the report of the movement at Spring

Hill, to Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi, the State of Tennessee alone taking two hundred thousand copies.

Since the publication of this address in the *Courier-Journal Supplement* and the publication more elaborately written in the *Southern Bivouac,* a new generation has grown up in the South, and these facts are largely unknown to many of them, but the soldiers of the Army of Tennessee, wherever they may be, remember those deeds in the history of "Hood's Tennessee Campaign."

Since the war, with the exception of the years 1865-67, Major Sanders has lived in Louisville, Kentucky, where he has practiced law since the 29th day of March, 1868.

2. Character Sketch.[1]

I am in receipt of your favor of the first instant, in which you state your regret that the biographical sketch of Major Sanders, which he dictated to me a few years ago, was not more personal and did not deal with the family history, and suggesting that I write a sketch of him as I knew him myself.

I concur in your regret that he did not make this sketch more personal, but the major had the innate modesty of a brave honorable and highly intelligent man, and undoubtedly regarded himself as of but little importance compared with the great historical events in which he took so active a part, and after all, it is only the man who has all the elements of greatness who appreciates his own insignificance in the presence of great issues. I never, in all my life, saw in the major any indication of personal vanity, or heard him boast of any of his achievements or attainments in any line. Regarding his military career, he was so free from prejudice and vain-glory that he was able to withdraw his personality and review the great questions of history with the impartiality of a born historian. When great national

[1] This sketch of Major Sanders was part of a private letter to Governor Noel, written from Louisville, Ky., Dec. 6, 1909, by a court stenographer of that city, whose years' of service had afforded ample opportunity to judge of his private and professional life.—Editor.

controversies were submitted to the arbitrament of the sword, he gave himself entirely, mind and heart and soul and body, to the Southern cause, and was in constant action and continually exposed to the fatalities of war during the entire conflict, but when the great questions had passed beyond discussion, he reflected upon them with the fairness of a well balanced mind and a great soul. He saw, and frankly admitted, that these matters had been settled in a way that was best for the country as a whole, and best for the South, which had been held in lethargy by its institutions. He was loyal to his Southern commanders, and loyal to the cause, but he was brave enough and fair enough to admit that there were skill, courage and good leadership in the Army of the North. He also realized that there might be two sides to the question, and that each was conscientiously endeavoring to vindicate the right. He did his fighting with the warriors, and not with the sponsors, and when the war was over, he laid down his arms and returned to his civil duties.

Neither did Major Sanders ever boast of his attainments in his profession, the law, and I am glad to be able to say this, for while I have seen a few braggarts of undoubted ability, it has been my observation that when a man can afford to boast of his achievements, he has reached his limit and he knows it—with his mouth confesses it. Major Sanders was of the highest standing in his profession, and I have heard some of the most eminent members of the Louisville bar refer to him as "the best constitutional lawyer in Kentucky."

I personally know that his memory was a wonderful storehouse of legal lore; that he could cite authorities, without hesitation, on probably any question that might come up, and turn unerringly to the book and page to support his contention. I have known many of the leading members of this bar to come to him for authorities in their cases, and he was invariably as generous with his knowledge as with his purse.

Major Sanders had no political aspirations, preferring to confine himself to the practice of his profession, which demanded

all of his attention. He did, however, accept appointments to preside as special judge in important cases in different parts of the State, and notably in the mountains, where he rendered satisfactory decisions in a number of cases where the litigants had blood feuds, and these appointments by various Governors were a recognition of the major's physical and moral courage, as well as of his well balanced judgment and legal lore.

It had been said by one of our multi-millionaires, that "It is a crime for a man to die rich," but Major Sanders went further than this. He would never permit himself to acquire riches in a needy world. His diligence in the collection of his fees was by no means commensurate with his ability as a lawyer, and most fees that did not come to him spontaneously or voluntarily, were left uncollected. Notwithstanding this laxity, he received a very large and lucrative income from his profession. Of this he gave munificently, but anonymously, and never turned aside an appeal of any character, from that a public benefaction to "staking" the little newsboys for their papers. I have heard him say that he would rather give to a thousand swindlers than fail to help one who might really be in need, and, indeed, it was his theory that whatever appearances might indicate, no person ever appealed for aid who had not either a real or an imaginary need.

Thoroughly vigilant in conserving the financial interests of his clients, he was negligent of his own, and in his later years had some severe financial reverses—not to the extent of impairing his obligations, but nevertheless involving a great deal of personal sacrifice, anxiety and deprivation to one of his natural munificence. Yet, at times when I have known him to be in financial stress, I have seen poor people, black and white, come to him, saying they had no coal and the city's charity supply was exhausted, and with the remark that "No one ought to be without a fire in this weather," he would lift himself from his chair, and going to the telephone, order a load of coal sent

to the applicant, with the bill to himself. His benevolence was of the quality that could not only *give*, but also *share*.

He was quite as generous in his estimate of his fellow-men, and I never knew him to express himself with animosity towards but two men, both of whom he had befriended most generously, and who had betrayed him with the most bitter ingratitude. Yet, later, when one of these men had laid himself liable to conviction of felony, Major Sanders exerted himself to the utmost, and through his personal influence with the victims, who were wealthy clients of the major, saved his enemy from a criminal prosecution which could have had but one result. From that time forth, I never heard Major Sanders refer to the man but with the kindliest expressions, and evidently in entirely condonation of the offense against himself.

Major Sanders' devotion to his family was deep and tender. He was an indulgent husband and father, and the death of his two sons at the threshold of manhood, affected him most profoundly.

He showed a constant kindness and regard for the old family servants. "Old Ben" had for many years been a most faithful attendant of the major's wife and son, David, during their years of illness. Before Ben's death he was confined to his bed at the major's home for perhaps two years, and during this time Major Sanders never failed to visit him each evening before retiring, to cheer him up with a friendly chat. When Old Ben died, the major gave him "a white man's funeral," and some of the most prominent members of the Louisville bench and bar, who had enjoyed Ben's famous mint juleps when visiting the major, were in attendance.

Major Sanders was spared to care for his invalid wife to the end of her days, and when, little more than a year afterwards, he laid down his own life, it was with the consciousness of all his duties fulfilled. His only daughter, Mrs. Walter C. Miller, was married and living in a distant city, and after the death of

his wife, his home was broken up and he moved to the Galt House, where he died.

He retained his wonderful mental faculties to the last, and had a large number of important cases pending in the courts at the time of his death. One, which had been submitted, and was regarded as a test case for some thirty others, has, since his death, been decided in favor of his contention.

This is merely an impressionistic sketch of Major Sanders as I knew him. I am wholly without necessary data for an historical sketch, and regret that I must therefore disappoint your expectations in that regard.

MARKING THE NATCHEZ TRACE.

An Historic Highway of the Lower South.

By Mrs. Dunbar Rowland.[1]

Very recent years have witnessed a brilliant renaissance of Southern history within many fields, and among the numerous efforts to preserve the historic landmarks of the country is that one made by the Mississippi Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to mark the Natchez Trace—the oldest historic highway of the lower South.

Taking the initiative, perhaps, from the movement by the same organization of marking the old Santa Fé Trail through the great West, they have worked with might and main to reclaim this half-forgotten record of an earlier civilization, and as a part of an elaborate scheme to indicate the entire route, have had a white bowlder made, ready to place in the City of Natchez, the first territorial capital of what is now the State of Mississippi.

It was from this same city that the Trace received its name, after it had ceased to do service as a Trail for primitive races

---

[1] Mrs. Dunbar Rowland (Eron Opha Gregory) is the daughter of Major B. B. Moore, who was the son of Dr. Lemuel Moore, of Alabama (See Saunders' *Alabama Families*). He was graduated from LeGrange College, Alabama, with high honors, and some years later became an editorial associate of William L. Yancey. Prior to the War of Secession, he removed to Mississippi and was married to Miss Ruth Rowland. He was a gallant soldier in the Confederate Army, and with his regiment suffered many hardships and privations in the Siege of Vicksburg. His wife was the daughter of Colonel Creed T. Rowland, of Aberdeen, and the great-granddaughter of Colonel Robert Hairston, of Virginia. Both families were prominent in colonial days, in both Virginia and North Carolina. They are in the possession of their genealogical history from the time of their first removal to the colonies.

Mrs. Rowland was born on a plantation near Okolona, Mississippi, and at an early age developed a taste for literature and literary pursuits. She has held the position of assistant in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, of which her husband is director, since its establishment, and has devoted herself to the historical interests of the State. A brief sketch of Mrs. Rowland will be found in the *Library of Southern Literature*, XV, 379.—Editor.

and such adventurous sons of European races as preferred the unknown interior to the more frequented passage by watercourse. But it must be remembered that the city itself—long before it was a part of the United States—had been named in honor of the Indian tribe, the Natchez, who inhabited the country surrounding it. And, according to Bartram, who visited the country in 1790 in the interest of the Botanical Society of London, no more beautiful country could be found on the earth than this famous Natchez region, whose great forests of live oak and beech were thickly studded with magnificent blooming trees and shrubs such as the Magnolia, Bay, Japonica, Cape Jasmine and Grand Duke. Besides these royal representatives of the American forests, the country also abounded in long and short-leaf pine, white oak, red oak, live oak, pecan, hickory and poplar trees, and occasionally a magnificent sassafras. Most of these trees, especially in the most southern district, were enveloped in streamers of the long gray moss which to-day possesses a profitable commercial value.

Evidence of this lavish splendor of Nature still remains, though man, in the first stages of establishing a civilization, becomes a natural foe of the forest, and many of these rare flowering trees have almost become extinct as a spontaneous growth, and are now rarely seen except as they greet the eye unexpectedly in some hidden nook or glen, or appear as cultivated shrubs in the gardens of the city.

But in the early days, when the old Natchez Trace was a Trail and for many years after, they lined its wandering course as far north as the climate would permit them to live and bloom, sometimes greeting the traveler along the Trail in what is now Tennessee, for this earliest and most famous of public highways traversed the State of Mississippi, touched the western border of Alabama about ten miles below Iuka, and had its northern extremity in the City of Nashville, where it connected with the great national road leading to the east. From below Natchez it followed the river to New Orleans. It conducted immigration, all that the watercourse did not bring, to the entire lower South. De Soto fought the battle of Chicaca, with the

Chickasaw Indians, near the extinct town of Redland, a short distance from the great Trail, and history tells us that he traveled over the Indian trails in and around Pontotoc.

What infinite relief he must have found in these beaten paths, after stumbling through the wilderness with his weary army for weeks at a time! Many years after that first invasion of the dim interior of the vast continent, by those gallant heralds of a new civilization of the West, the French, British and Spanish, in turn, explored and preëmpted the country, and during these years much of the travel from place to place was done over the main watercourses. But while the white man depended upon the rivers and streams to reach isolated settlements, the native Americans—the devout Natchez, the pastoral Cherokees, the restless Choctaws, the warlike Chickasaws and the blood-thirsty Creeks—with soft moccasined feet and the instinct of a people who had dwelt long in the unbroken forest, were marking trails by three-notch signs upon the trees, and with that tricksiness characteristic of primitive races, keeping along the ridgeways in order to have comparatively dry footing during the flood-tides. These same dim trails, be it noted, long afterwards were converted into durable wagon roads for a better civilization.

Doubtless it was due to these paths through the Southern woods that McGillivray, son of the canny Scotchman of that name, and his wife, Sehoy—Bride of the Wind—was enabled, with Panton, Leslie and Company, to establish a system of commerce in these then far-off wilds that has since interested and fascinated many students of economics. Over the dim pathways that, as Lorenzo Dow tells us in his diary, wound like a network through the forests, the natives bore peltries on their backs to the storehouses of Panton, Leslie and Company, farther south, and exchanged them for commodities—gewgaws and what-not—which the wily European found best suited to the tastes of the red men.

How useful in times of dire need these paths of the red men sometimes proved, to the white strangers seeking foothold in the wilderness, is shown in the story of the Tory pioneer, Anthony Hutchins. In 1773, when war between the colonies and the

motherland threatened, Colonel Hutchins, with a small company of those who, like himself, were unwilling to be drawn into the conflict, came with their families from their homes in Georgia by way of the watercourses—the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers—to the Natchez District. The adjoining territory being included in the English dominion of West Florida, he planted a colony there and awaited his opportunity to aid in driving the Spanish intruder from the soil that he held sacred to King George. He thought that this had come, in the struggle that broke out in 1781, in which he took a brave part; but just on the eve of the final encounter, the news came of Great Britain's surrender to Spain of the entire area of West Florida. The only thing for these pioneers to do was to make precipitate retreat for the Atlantic coast. They took to the woods, and, striking the Indian trail, followed it through the tangled growth of the lonely forest. The tale of their journey is one of unspeakable hardships and suffering, but the trail did not fail them, and at last brought them to their friends on the coast.

But of all the trails that served the purposes of that now distant day, the one that has come down to us through the vicissitudes of change, with most distinct reality, is the one now known as the "old Natchez Trace." A contributor to the *Mississippi Encyclopedia* says of this road:

> "Down it passed a steady stream of travelers, often men of wealth journeying to the South in search of land and other profitable investment; up it passed traders, supercargoes and boatmen from New Orleans, who would take the long return journey overland to their homes, 1,000 miles away. They traveled on foot or on horseback in small companies for mutual protection, and frequently carried with them rich treasure of specie—the products of their cargoes—packed on mules or horses. These found it more profitable to sell their boats, which could not be propelled upstream, and take this route home."

In those early days Lorenzo Dow, the famous herald of Methodism, with his wife, Peggie, lived in the Natchez country for several years, erecting in the town of Washington the little brick church in which later the first constitutional convention of Mississippi Territory was held. While going to and fro in that country it was his business to preach up and down the old Trail,

and he sometimes made note in his diary of "the Word," touching the heart of some sturdy emigrant, some aimless wayfarer or wandering native, as he conversed with them at the camping places along the lonely road. We gather, too, from his diary with what fear of massacre during the night the travelers lay down to sleep. How many were sacrificed in that way while spying out the land for us will never be a matter of record.

Nor was Lorenzo Dow, the great Methodist pioneer, the only bearer of that light flowing across the centuries from the far Judean hills, that the great Asbury hoped to set aloft in these beautiful Magnolia regions. Others, notably among them Tobias Gibson, Newton Vick, Thomas Griffin, Richmond Nolley and others, bore it over the lonely old Trail to the down country, and from all accounts, "Natchez under the Hill"—a veritable city sitting in darkness—stood much in need of it.

Much of the early history and romance of the great Trail, like the story of the native tribes dwelling along its winding course, has been lost to American literature; but far away from up and down the lonely road through the vast wilderness there come to us faint echoes of human passion, as dark and stormy as one might expect from a love between a LeFleur of Latin blood and the red-skinned Princess Rebecca of the Choctaw nation. Yet, in this instance, as in some others, this passion mellowed into the steady glow of domestic happiness.

Though the offspring of this union bore the indelible impress of things ancestral and regarded reverently the traditions and legends that served for the history of the red people of the Trail, he also exhibited many traits of his cousins-german across the seas. Many eerie pleadings of his kindred to return to the wild rung in his ears, but the voice of his *alter ego*—his other and stronger self—beckoned him to the beaten paths where the hearthstone, the altar and the plowed field were among the insignia and the cherished tokens of life.

It is true that since those dim romantic and chivalrous days when the French had settled in the favored region of the Trail, only to suddenly pass from it with the beloved lilies drenched in the blood of Fort Rosalie; and England and Spain had in turn

raised and lowered their ensigns, some thought at times was given to the advisability of absorbing the wild red race into the European civilization that had been transplanted to the Western Continent. But, finding the experiment a hazardous one, the primitive theory of the Anglo-Saxon, that might makes right, was resorted to, and this soon forced the folk of the forest far from the valleys and hills where the great Trail ran.

The method prospered, and the good day arrived when, by the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real, executed October 27, 1795, all the country embracing the Natchez District passed into the possession of the victorious Americans. The Stars and Stripes waved from the bastions of Fort Panmure at the Natchez Bluff, and the little city of several hundred souls became one of the capitals in the American nation. After the adjoining country had become a part of the newly-formed republic, one of the first concerns of the Federal authorities, who sympathized with conditions in the outlying districts, was to open up an overland route to the older settled regions of the United States.

This action was not prompted by commercial reasons only, important as avenues for trade are always shown to be, in the case of new communities. There were other and more vital considerations in its favor. The troublous times made it necessary for the military to move over the roads connecting the interior settlements, at intervals, in order to hold in check the disposition towards plunder and violence often so prevalent in a new and but partly-settled country. Travelers were robbed up and down the lonely trails, not only by the lawless white men who had sought the territory, but by the native red savages as well.

Samuel Mason, one of the most famous and desperate of bandits, aided by a band no less defiant and lawless than himself, operated on, and in the vicinity of, this famous road during the years 1801 to 1803.

It was during Claiborne's administration that the road along this old northward Trail from Natchez was finally perfected. Early maps on record in Washington City trace it through its present region, connecting it above Nashville with the great National Road leading to the east. It has been sometimes called

the Military Road, but should not be confounded with Jackson's Military Road which was surveyed later. At various times and places the road bore different names, such as Government Road, Robinson Road and Military Road, but the whole route was known as the Natchez-Nashville Road, and has finally descended to history as the Natchez Trace.

A condensed account of the legislation enacted for the construction of this road is here taken from the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History,* which is the most authentic printed history concerning it, having been gathered from the original records of the State. It reads as follows:

"As soon as the Spaniards finally evacuated the Natchez District, and immediately after the organization of the territorial government of Mississippi, the Federal authorities empowered General Wilkinson, then in command of the United States troops at Natchez and Fort Adams, to enter into certain negotiations with the Indian tribes south of Tennessee. One of the principal objects of the negotiations with the Indians was to obtain their consent to the opening of public roads and mail routes from the settlements of the Natchez District to the frontier settlements of Tennessee and Georgia, thereby facilitating intercourse and trade, and promoting emigration to the new Mississippi Territory. All the vast region extending north and east of the Natchez District for nearly 500 miles to the distant white settlements on the Cumberland River, Tennessee, and to those on the Oconee, in Georgia, was undisputed Indian territory, with the single exception of the limited area on the Tombigbee and Mobile Rivers, to which the Indian title had been extinguished by France and England in former years. The Natchez District was remote and difficult of access. Intercourse with the United States was by the laborious ascent of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to the Kentucky and Tennessee settlements, or else over the lonely Indian trail which led for 500 miles through the lands of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, to the Cumberland River.

"In pursuance of these plans, the Treaty of Chickasaw Bluffs was concluded October 24, 1801, whereby the Chickasaws conceded to the United States the right 'to lay out, open, and make a convenient wagon road through their land, between the settlements of Mero District in the State of Tennessee, and those of Natchez in the Mississippi Territory * * * and the same shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chickasaws.' Also the Treaty of Fort Adams, concluded December 17, 1801, with the Choctaws, whereby that nation consented 'that a convenient and durable wagon way may be explored, marked, opened and made through their lands, to commence at the northern extremity of the settlements of the Mississippi Territory, and to be extended from thence, until it shall strike the lands claimed by the Chickasaw nation, and the same shall be and continue forever a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Choctaws.'

"In November, 1801, General Wilkinson asked the Assembly, through Governor Claiborne, to immediately appoint commissioners to mark a route for a permanent highway from Grindstone Ford, by way of Fort

Adams to the line of demarcation, whereupon he would build the road, as it was needed 'for free communication to the sea for succor, or retreat in case of exigency.'

"The road from the national boundary was laid out in 1802. The Governor's journal shows that Hugh Davis and John Collins were two of the Commissioners, and James Patton a marker. South of Natchez, this road ran close to the river to a station called Tomlinson's, sixteen miles distant, thence via Homochitto Ferry, four miles, Buffalo Bridge, ten miles, Fort Adams, sixteen miles, and Pinckneyville, eleven miles.

"April 21, 1806, Congress appropriated the sum of $6,000 for the purpose of opening the road through the Indian country in conformity to the above treaties.

"In 1815, a committee of Congress, appointed to enquire into the expediency of repairing and keeping in repair, the road from Natchez to Nashville, reported in favor of an appropriation for that purpose, stating that the subject was then unusually interesting 'from the efforts of the enemy to seize upon the emporium of an immense country, as well as other positions in the same quarter, of less, though great importance to the United States.' An appropriation bill was passed in accordance with the recommendations of the committee.

"The Natchez Trace crossed the Tennessee River a few miles below the Mussell Shoals, at 'Colbert's Ferry,' and thence pursued a southwesterly course through the country of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, to the 'Grindstone Ford,' on the Bayou Pierre, thence ran south and west to Natchez; south of Natchez, we have already seen that it followed the general trend of the river to the line of demarcation; it eventually connected with the various roads leading to New Orleans."

The records of the Land Office, in which the entire survey of this old road is shown, indicate that it passed through thirteen Mississippi counties, to-wit: Adams, Jefferson, Claiborne, Hinds, Madison, Leake, Choctaw, Webster, Chickasaw, Pontotoc, Lee, Prentiss and Tishomingo. It has already been noted that the road connected at Nashville, Tennessee, with the public highway, or national road, which ran east to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, via Lexington, Chillicothe and Zanesville. The total distance, from Natchez to Nashville, was 501 miles, and the distance to Pittsburg was 1,013 miles.

Under the treaties, the Indians expressly reserved the right to establish public houses of entertainment along this route, as well as to control the numerous ferries. Probably the majority of the inns and small stores that subsisted on the travel over the Trace, were kept by half-breeds, many of whom, like Leflores (as the name of the Le Fleurs was anglicised), amassed considerable wealth in trade, and became men of influence in their com-

munities. The historian, Claiborne, ascribes the general safety of travel along the Trace to the influence of these half-breed inn-keepers.

The following list of the stations that sprang up along the road between Natchez and Nashville, and the distances in miles intervening, is taken from the Mississippi and Louisiana Almanac for the year 1818, which was printed and sold at Natchez by Andrew Marschalk, one of the notable characters of the early history of the State: It reads thus:

Washington, 6; Seltzertown, 6; Uniontown, 6; Greenville, 6; Vaughan's, 5; Gibson's Port, 17; Mrs. Wooldridge, 9; Choctaw line, 16; Fourteen mile creek, 14; Indian house, 18; Osbornes, 6; Agency, 8; Brashiers, 4; Wards, 8; McCurty's, 4; Dokes, 16; Irishmans, 26; Shoates, 5; Michael Lafloures, 11; Lewis Lafloures, 14; Mitchells, 12; Blacks, 8; Fulsoms, 5; Beam's, 5; Wall's, 7; James Perry's, 15; Mr. Pettigrove's, 8; McKey's, or Agency, 8; Allen's, 8; James Colbert, 1; Levi Kemp, 7; Big town, 15; Old Factors, 5; John Brown's, 28; The clean house, 6; The good spring, 8; Bear Creek, 12; Carters, 5; Tennessee river (Colbert's Ferry), 8; Duck river, 75; Nashville, 50.

Through change of proprietorship, or other reasons, these stations were known at different times by different names, and as spelling, especially of proper names, was not at that date an exact science, the lists of stopping-places along the old route, made at various dates, differ greatly.

Historic Places Along the Natchez Trace.

Natchez.—Many of the old stations along the Natchez Trace have become extinct, others have survived the transforming changes of a century, and a few have grown to be cities of importance. Among the last-named is the City of Natchez, whose historic associations and magnificent family estates extending out many miles beyond the city's present limits, and preserving, as President Taft said, the "spirit of old things," stamp it as one of the most interesting cities of America.

In the early days of the country, not only the Trace, but all roads led to Natchez, for this garden-spot of the great South-

west had sent her invitation broadcast over the civilized world; and many accepted her gracious courtesy, pitched their tents by her great river, and became sinew of her sinew and bone of her bone. An interesting volume could be written about this city alone.[2]

WASHINGTON.—Washington, the first station out of Natchez on the Trace, though now reduced to the proportions of a small village, was a town of importance in the early day, and rivals Natchez itself in age and historic association. On February 1, 1802, the Territorial Legislature made Washington the capital of the Mississippi Territory. It was here that a distinguished company of pioneers, immigrants from Virginia and West Florida, introduced into the western wilds something of the etiquette of the Court of St. James, and the parliamentary procedure of Westminster Hall. Jefferson College, the oldest endowed institution of learning in the Southwest, was located here, and here,[3] also, was founded the Elizabeth Female Academy, chartered in 1819, for the education of young women, and under the especial auspices of the Methodist Church.[4] The walls of this academy are still standing, although through the change of the State capital to Jackson, the shifting population, and other causes, the school was discontinued in the early forties.

PORT GIBSON.[5]—Another flourishing city which had its small beginning as a station on the old historic Trace is Port Gibson, in Claiborne County, known on the old maps as Gibson's Port. It was located at the point where the Trace crossed the Bayou Pierré. When Claiborne County was organized in 1802, the residence of Mr. Gibson, a pioneer planter, which gave the name to the station, was about three-fourths of a mile from the Bayou, in what is now the upper part of the town. The devastating tide of war passed over its site and made its name immortal,

---

[2] See "Brandon's Historic Adams County" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, II, 207-218.—EDITOR.

[3] See Morrison's "Early History of Jefferson College" in Ibid., 179-188.—EDITOR.

[4] See Galloway's "Elizabeth Female Academy, the Mother of Female Colleges" in Ibid., 169-178.—EDITOR.

[5] See Hawkin's "History of Port Gibson" in Ibid., X, 279-300.—EDITOR.

but after that period of stress had passed the city advanced rapidly to its present rank and influence in the commerce of the State.

Old Greenville.[6]—It is left for history alone to preserve the record of Old Greenville, named for Gen. Nathaniel Greene, and situated in Jefferson County. As far back as 1798 it was said to have been a thriving place. It was here that the mother of the historian, Claiborne, was married to the Rev. David Cooper, and many of the distinguished men of early Mississippi history spent a portion of their time at this then important place, the seat of justice for the county. Among these were George Poindexter, Joseph Davis, Christopher Rankin, Edward Turner and others. It is said that Jefferson Davis went to school here when a little lad, boarding in the family of Sheriff Jordan. It may cause some of the warm friends of Old Hickory to scoff to recall the accredited fact that he, in those early days, for a time followed the business of a negro-trader at this place. A proof that this fact was not taken with the best grace at that day is that in several political campaigns, his followers were compelled to swear by the eternal that he did not. It was near Old Greenville that General Jackson is said to have married Mrs. Robards, at the home of their mutual friend, Thomas M. Green. This house is still standing, a typical home of the early days.

In connection with this often disputed point of history, the writer reproduces here a letter just received from Mr. E. R. Jones, an old resident of Jefferson County:

I never heard that Mrs. Robards was married to General Jackson in the home of Thos. Marston Green until it came out in McCardle's History of Mississippi, such being contrary to tradition.

My father, Rev. Jno. G. Jones, was born in 1804 and resided for many years at Belle Grove, just across the Natchez Trace from Mrs. Robards' home, the site of which he often pointed out to me as our farm was less than a mile off. He used this language: "I fear Major McCardle's vanity and his connection with the Green family has led him into an error. Mrs. Robards, so the old people of the time while I was growing up about Greenville told me, owned her own farm, near Greenville, and had on it a double log house with an open hall, and here they say she was married to General Jackson. I am as sure as can be from testimony, that McCardle is wrong. I will also say that for many years

[6] See Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in Ibid., V, 311-383.—Editor.

of my life I was often with Allen Colier (colored), who was a body servant of General Thomas Hinds and was once a slave of Thomas Marston Green, and went as such to General Hinds, who married Miss Laminda Green. When I informed him what McCardle's History has said about Jackson's being married at Green's house, his reply was: "'Twan't so; Ole Marster's house—the Great House warn't built at that time—I 'members it, and Miss Robards don't have to go over thar to be married, when she had a good house of her own right by what da call the Jackson Springs." So, I believe this is a true story of the marriage.

Greenville remained the county seat of Jefferson until the year 1825, when, by an act of the General Assembly, the seat of justice was removed to Fayette, six miles east. After this the town rapidly declined, the buildings being removed or left to decay. The last building left standing was the old Cable Hotel, and this was burned some years ago. At the suggestion of Mr. W. A. Killingsworth, Representative from Adams County, the remarkable incident closing the career of Samuel Mason, the outlaw, is made a part of this story of the famous Trail, in connection with the history of Old Greenville.

There were, we are told, two leaders of this outlaw band—Samuel Mason and Wiley Harp. In April, 1802, after some daring outrages on their part, Governor Claiborne offered a reward of $1,000 each, for the capture of these leaders, dead or alive. Harp immediately disappeared. It was said that he returned to his old home in Kentucky to save his scalp, and, changing his name, took up the role of a peaceful citizen; at any rate, he never again appeared in his old haunts. The end of Mason was more dramatic. Two of his band killed him and brought his severed head to the town of Greenville, to claim the reward offered. The Circuit Court was in session at the time, and the men went before the judge to get a certificate to the Governor. Persons, who claimed to know Mason well, identified the head, but before the certificate could be made out, a traveler who had been robbed by the outlaws a short time previous, on the banks of Baker's Creek, recognized in these two pretended avengers of the outraged public, members of the robber band, wherefore they were promptly put under arrest on a charge of robbery and murder, tried, convicted and executed at Greenville. Their names were said to be James May and John Sutton.

Another version of the story asserts that the head brought in evidence of the outlaw's death was *not* Mason's head. His wife, who lived at old Shankstown, and who was held by her neighbors to be a trustworthy woman, was sent for by Governor Claiborne to testify at the trial of May and Sutton. She positively denied that the head of the murdered man was that of her husband. For this reason, many believed that the bandit leader had fled to Canada, and probably died peacefully in his bed there. Whichever version of the tale may be the true one, there is no doubt that with the arrest of May and Sutton, the outlaw band and its leader disappeared from history, and from the line of travel which they had rendered so perilous to property and life.

Mr. Killingsworth makes the following interesting statements:

"Mason and his band crossed the Mississippi River and went westward until they reached the highlands which lie to the northwest of the City of Vicksburg, and which are known to this day as the 'Mason Hills.' Tradition has it that it was here that Mason and his band went for safety when pursued, and to bury their booty. To the present day, many people believe that rich treasures lie buried out in the Mason Hills. It is more than likely that this band of outlaws did hide their treasure here, but it is not known that any part of it has ever been found."

Doak's Stand.—The site of the historic station of Doak's Stand can be located approximately on any map as four miles north of where the Choctaw boundary crossed Pearl River, in Madison County. Here was negotiated the Treaty of 1820, under the skillful logic of Generals Jackson and Hinds, by which the Choctaws exchanged their lands in Mississippi for a tract west of the Mississippi River. The famous chief, Pushmataha, to whose friendly courage the white men owed the alliance of the Choctaw tribe during the Creek War, conducted the negotiations for the Indians. The plea used to reconcile the unwilling chiefs to the surrender of the tribal acres was that in their new home they would be unmolested by white men and could perpetuate themselves as a nation. Before the "talk" began, General Jackson spoke of the passionate devotion of the Choctaws to the idea of their nationality. "That is the chord I mean to touch," he said.

French Camp.—A thriving little town in the extreme southwestern part of Choctaw County marks a famous station on

the Old Trace. Here Louis LeFleur, father of Greenwood LeFlore, the celebrated Mississippian, settled in 1812. His son, Greenwood, who was named in honor of an English sea-captain, was then twelve years old. The father kept an inn for the refreshment of travelers, which, because of his nationality, was known as French Camp. When the army of General Jackson was marching from Nashville to Natchez, in 1813, he stayed a week at this beautiful spot, to recruit his foot-weary soldiers.

Selsertown.—Another station on the Trace which belongs to history only is Selsertown, a name often misspelled on the maps. When the road was first surveyed, George Selser kept a tavern here. It is recorded that the last owner of this old inn, John McCollum, proclaimed his nationality by his sign, "Intertainment for Man and Baste." The old inn and a large Indian mound were attractions that drew travelers for many years. The inn was burned down at about the close of the Civil War, but the mound still remains to puzzle archæologists.

Uniontown.—On the south side of Cole's Creek, in Jefferson County, and the next stopping place on the Old Trail to Selsertown, is Uniontown, notable as the location of one of the first tanneries established in Mississippi. Several small business places were opened here and a town was laid out on a somewhat ambitious scale, and was platted into streets,—but the place is now extinct, and its ambitions forgotten.

Colbert's Ferry.[7]—The point where the Old Trace once crossed the Tennessee River can probably be now located, but the name by which it was so long known only survives in old records. This name recalls the remarkable family of mixed blood, whose history is interwoven with that of Territorial Mississippi, and is especially connected with the story of the Old Trace. Besides the Ferry, no less than three stations on the road at one time bore this name—Levi Colbert's, James Colbert's and George Colbert's.

Sometime during the eighteenth century, a young Scotchman by the name of Colbert joined himself to the Chickasaws of Tennessee. His four sons all became chiefs of the tribe. The

[7] See *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, I, 468-469.—Editor.

eldest, William, was a celebrated fighter, and was an ally of the Americans, not only against hostile Indians, but also when a struggle with Spain for the possession of the Mississippi seemed imminent, and later, when the red men and the British invaders were in league against the infant nation. William's daughter, Susie Colbert, married James Allen, a native North Carolinian, who had come to the young City of Nashville to practice law, but becoming discouraged perhaps, with the imperfect opportunities offered by that community, made a visit to the Chickasaws. Becoming enamoured while there with the simple life that made no demand for prosy legal lore, and also with the simple virtues of the fair daughter of the forest, he allied himself straightway with the tribe. And thus through the genealogical history of the Colberts we run upon a romance of the Old Trace, that it were hardly fair to pass by without mention.

Peggy Allen, the daughter of the aforesaid James and Susie, was a maiden so beautiful that not only all the young braves of the nation, but all the young men among the white traders that passed up and down the river were literally at her feet. Even the staid and middle-aged Indian Agent, Samuel Mitchell, became her ardent adorer. Finding that the young damsel was in no way inclined toward him, however, he begged her grandmother, the wife of the mighty William, to use her influence in his behalf. The practical old grandam, convinced that such an alliance must not be lost to the family, wasted no time in argument, but straightway packed off Miss Peggy, with a string of loaded horses and ten negroes, as dowry, with orders to present herself a willing bride to her waiting elderly lover at the Agency. Trained in the habit of obedience, the girl accompanied the cavalcade along the Trace, but we may imagine that every mile of the journey over the historic old road her heart only grew more stubborn in a determination not to consent to become "an old man's darling," and for good reason, since she simply hated the sight of this particular old man. Arrived at the Agency, therefore, she treated her admirer with the utmost scorn, told him that she was there against her will, refused to listen to his protestations of devotion, and, in a word, flouted him to such an

extent that his patience gave way at last, and he was thankful to send her and her attendants back by the same road they came, before his fortnight of fruitless wooing was ended.

And for the fair Peggy, we fancy that apprehensions of grandmotherly wrath awaiting her shadowed her triumph on her return journey more than a little. But the little winged god was already bringing her reward, in the form of a good-looking youth, Simon Burney, son of a well-to-do planter near Natchez, whom she met immediately upon her return. The attraction was mutual; a wedding soon followed, and the happy pair became the progenitors of a prosperous and honored Mississippi family.

We find, therefore, even from the above limited sketches, that the history of the Old Trace is interwoven with much of the history of that part of the lower South that now forms the State of Mississippi, and its preservation peculiarly interests our people. That it can be accurately surveyed is shown by the early records that still exist in the Land Office of the State Capitol at Jackson, Mississippi. By this old survey, its course can be marked through each county, and can even be traced in each section of land through which it passes. Any one who, for historical purposes, desires to frame an exact route of the Trace can do so in this office. I do not know that the officers there will do this work upon request, but the knowledge is there for those who are willing to make the investigation. The writer begs to suggest to the Daughters of the American Revolution that in marking the Trace, if there is not some noted historic spot still in existence, or else preserved by history, to guide them in placing the marks, it would be well for the organization to have the route surveyed within the county through which it passes, in order that the bowlders may be accurately placed.

Senator Leftwich, of Aberdeen, commending the project of re-tracing the old road, suggests that the original stations be located by the present ownership of the land whereon they were situated. The suggestion seems a good one and entirely practicable, though involving time and labor. It is offered here for consideration.

A letter received from Mr. J. A. Lewis, Representative from Chickasaw County, well indicates the popular approval of the project, especially through its appeal to patriotism and State pride. He says:

"This road is especially sacred to me, as both my grandfathers traveled the road with General Jackson. I am very familiar with that part of the route from Pontotoc to Kosciusko. Leaving Pontotoc going south, the road runs through a hilly country for thirty miles, the finest fruit country in the State. After crossing Houlka Creek, it is mostly a flat woods country for fifteen or twenty miles. But it is a fine farming country, with an abundance of good timber, consisting of pine, white oak, post oak and hickory. Through the Counties of Webster, Choctaw and Attala, it is a broken country, but a great deal of it is very fertile, and this country is settled up with well-to-do small farmers. The people along this route are intelligent and refined, with good schoolhouses and churches. This road is now used for rural free delivery of United States mail, and is a market road in many places."

THE MAYHEW MISSION TO THE CHOCTAWS.[1]

By William A. Love.[2]

Indian missions are by no means of modern origin or the result of latter-day civilization. Contemporaneous with the colonization of America began efforts looking to the spiritual, as well as to the material, improvement of the aborigines. As representatives of the earliest colonizing nations, the missionaries acted in the dual capacity of explorers and teachers, besides exercising their special functions as spiritual advisers of the Indians. Later in the development of the country the religious work was conducted by churches, philanthropic societies and charitably-inclined individuals.

The earliest missions in the United States were founded by the French and Spanish among the Pecos, Wachita and Tigum Tribes in 1542. The first Protestant mission was established in the United States a century later, in 1642, by Eliot and Mayhew, under the auspices of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches unitedly in Massachusetts. As early as 1653 the Catholic Church, after much discouragement and great slaughter of its missionaries by hostile Indians, had established twenty missions in the coast country of Georgia and Florida, with an estimated Indian population of 26,000. Following the occupation of the Carolinas by the English Colony in 1663, there began a conflict with the Spanish occupants in reference to territorial

---

[1] A number and variety of publications have been examined during the preparation of this article, the primary object being the compilation of contemporary authorities rather than the giving a one man's view with such defects and distortions as prejudice or preconceived impressions might unwittingly suggest.

Liberal use has been made of the *Handbook of American Indians*, published by the Bureau of Ethnology; Rev. Thomas C. Richards' *Samuel J. Mills, Missionary Pathfinder;* Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina;* H. B. Cushman's *History of the Indians;* and of manuscript reports of missionaries to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[2] A sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VII, 351, footnote.—Editor.

bounds or possessions, and as a result of English aggression the entire area embracing the missions were overrun and completely devastated. By the year 1699 the French, who made a settlement at Biloxi and later at Mobile, New Orleans, and along the Mississippi River, began missionary work among the contiguous tribes, viz., the Choctaws, Natchez and Tunicas in Mississippi, and the Humas, Tensaws and Caddos in Louisiana. The result of these efforts were not encouraging, particularly among the Natchez, who, in addition to sun worship, offered human sacrifices. In this tribe not a conversion was made during the continuance of the mission. As a result of the Natchez war of 1729, the French garrison was massacred, including the priest. The Louisiana Mission in like manner proved a failure and was abandoned. The Moravians, beginning in 1735, conducted a short-lived mission to the Creeks near Savannah, Georgia. The Spanish located several mission stations in Texas about 1790, which for a time appeared promising, numbering at one time a Christian population of 15,000. But this work was finally abandoned, and the Indians returned to their former tribal worship. The Presbyterian Church in 1804 established a mission to the Cherokee Nation in East Tennessee, but it was suspended for lack of financial aid. In 1817 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a station, called Brainerd, in the same nation, near Chattanooga, Tennessee. In 1818 the same organization commenced work at Eliot, on the Yellowstone River, among the Mississippi Choctaws, and in 1820 it founded another station, called Mayhew, fifteen miles west of Plymouth, on the Tombigbee River.

Preliminary to a sketch of this Mayhew Mission, it is appropriate to consider briefly some leading facts concerning the origin, character and design of the organization under whose auspices it was conducted. It is indeed a far cry from the "*Haystack Prayer-meeting*" of 1806 to the present great Laymen's Missionary Movement that is sweeping our land from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

In the summer of 1806 five students of Williams College (Massachusetts) held a prayer-meeting under a haystack, where they had taken shelter during a storm. They prayed for the evangelization of the world.

and that the Christian people of America might be aroused to obey the last command of Christ. It was on that occasion, when discussing the practicability of such an enterprise, that Samuel J. Mills, their leader, gave utterance to the words which have become famous around the world: "We can do it, if we will." Later these students formed themselves into a brotherhood and pledged their lives for missionary service in foreign lands.[3]

On September 5, 1810, five Christian men, four clergymen and a layman, met around a small mahogany table in the parlor of Dr. Noah Porter, at Farmington, Conn., for the first meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This Society had been organized on the 29th of the preceding June, by the Massachusetts General Association of Congregational Churches, at Bradford. The new organization was started in order that the young men of the haystack, and others who followed them, might be sent out by some constituted authority and assured of a support.

Such was the beginning of the American Board, and such was the beginning of the foreign missionary enterprise in America. To-day there are forty-six American missionary societies, organized to carry the Gospel to the people of foreign lands. These societies have 5,117 missionaries, 27,319 native preachers and workers, occupy 11,515 stations, and they enroll 672,103 church members each year. They also raise annually over $9,000,000, while native Christians contribute in addition $1,564,981. * * * The century of beginnings, of experimentations, of overcoming indescribable obstacles gives way to a century of unparalleled conquest * * *.

For reasons not clearly stated, Samuel J. Mills, the "hero of the Haystack," was not included in the number of first foreign missionaries sent out, possibly upon the principle that a recruiting officer may sometimes prove more valuable to the cause than a commander in the field. However, Mills's work at home was made manifest in a variety of ways and in different directions. In July, 1812, we find him and his co-laborer, John F. Schermerhorn, bound for New Orleans on a missionary tour at the instance of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies, and recommended by Andover Seminary. Their route lay through Albany and the Mohawk Valley to the Niagara River; thence south to Marietta, Ohio; through Indiana and Kentucky to Nashville, Tennessee. By a fortuitous circumstance, they here met Gen. Andrew Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers on the eve of their departure for New Orleans; for already the war clouds were appearing upon the horizon.

Learning the character of the travelers and their purpose, the General graciously tendered them passage on his boats, which,

[3] The American Board Centennial Leaflet, 1810-1910.

after disposing of their horses, they gladly accepted. After a voyage of thirty-six days, retarded by ice in the rivers, they reached Natchez. Here General Jackson was intercepted by instructions from General Wilkinson to disembark and await orders. Later orders were received from William Eustis, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War, dismissing Jackson and his volunteer troops from the United States service, without pay or provision for returning home.

Alfred Henry Lewis sarcastically remarks on this phase of the war that "possibly the government thinks that the General and his hunting-shirt friends can float upstream as they floated down." There is much in understanding conditions.[4]

The two missionaries, however, had marching orders, and, with true Apostolic fervor, they proceeded on their journey to the "regions beyond." Unwilling, or financially unable to pay the steamboat fare of $18 each, they took passage on a flat-boat at $3. They tell us that they secured very indifferent accommodations with "little to subsist on except fat ham, dry biscuit, butter and cheese, all of which we would have dispensed with had we been furnished with water gruel, a little milk and occasionally a bowl of hominy."

From their report of "Observations upon the state of the religious information possessed by the inhabitants we passed after we left Nashville until we arrived at Natchez," the following extract is appropriate in this connection:

> There are few settlements of importance upon the Cumberland River—no village that contains more than 300 inhabitants. We passed from Nashville to Natchez, a distance of a thousand miles by water, no settlement that was regularly supplied by a Presbyterian minister. We occasionally passed a Baptist and Methodist preacher, but seldom. The former in many instances do not inculcate upon their hearers the importance of observing the Sabbath as holy time. Neither do they enjoin the duty upon parents religiously to educate their children. In sentiment the latter [Methodist] agree with Armenius. The religious sentiment of the inhabitants in this portion of the country now under consideration must be, of course, very incorrect where they make any profession of religion at all.

[4] It is said that during the war with Spain, some of our inland, mountain people were much concerned over the movements of "them flyin' squadroons," fearing lest they alight in their midst and carry death and destruction to the people of those unprotected regions.

There is, I believe, a very great stupidity generally prevailing in this western world, as it respects a concern for the salvation of the soul, and a reason, which answers in part for this inattention to religious subjects is obvious: "The people perish for lack of vision." Not only in a great measure are they destitute of the Word preached in its simplicity and purity, but it is a fact much to be lamented that comparatively few have a Bible in their homes, and many who would be pleased to receive such a treasure know not where to obtain it. The country from Nashville to Natchez is generally so thinly settled that schools cannot be supported where the inhabitants are desirous of the privilege. But it is often the case that they know not the value of such institutions, even where they have the ability to support them. The education of children is, of course, very much neglected.

At Natchez, with fifteen hundred inhabitants, many of them Americans, they found no organized church. There was a Roman Catholic Church, which had been closed for many years, and a Methodist Church building, open to all-comers, "sometimes crowded, generally when the meeting is held in the evening." The Presbyterians were building a substantial brick church of good size, and the prospect of "a regular organized church" seemed good. The conditions at New Orleans were even worse and with no prospect of improvement. Continuing, the report says:

There is no Protestant Church in the city. Attempts have been made to obtain subscriptions for building one, but have failed. There is no difficulty in erecting theatres. One has lately been built at an expense, perhaps, of $70,000, and $30,000 more will be required to finish it. The Sabbath is very little observed as a day of sacred rest. On the levee are great numbers of the lower class offering for sale whatever they may have on hand. In the streets you meet wagons and carts, going and coming, as on the week days. The greater part of the stores are open, and people are buying and selling in all quarters. In houses many are sitting at cards; many at the billiard-table; many drinking and some drunken, and I am told, that Americans join in all these excesses.

The personal efforts made to better the deplorable condition existing in these Western wilds among "the Americans" does not properly come within the scope of this paper, but in justice to these advance missionaries in their self-sacrificing labors, it should be noted that through their instrumentality a call was issued by Governor Claiborne and twelve members of the Legislature for a Bible Society, and that Gen. Benjamin Morgan was made President of the organization, and that at Natchez, with the assistance of Rev. Gideon Blackburn, Chaplain of the

Tennessee volunteers, a subscription of $100 was made to the Tennessee Bible Society, the gifts coming principally from the officers. In addition to these statements, the writer, evidently thinking that the war clouds would soon blow over, evidenced in his estimation by the Wilkinson-Jackson-Eustis episode, says:

> As these volunteers had little prospect of contending with the bayonet and sword, we endeavored to bring them to act against principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places, and as you see, sir, not without some success. We were treated with great attention by the general and officers, and were more obliged to them for their subscription made to the Tennessee Society than if it had been made to us.

On April 6th the missionaries, Mills and Schermerhorn, started on their return journey through Mississippi Territory and Georgia. A letter dated at New Orleans was mailed at Athens, Georgia, which would indicate that post-roads were at that time unknown in the region traversed, or their use temporarily suspended. A Charleston (South Carolina) newspaper of June 3rd, following, noted the arrival "on Tuesday last, in this city, of Mr. Samuel J. Mills, missionary from New England."

This deflection to the north of the route usually traveled is attributed possibly to the dangers and inconveniences that would have resulted from a journey through the coast country, on account of the war then in progress.

From Charleston they passed to their home at Torringford, Massachusetts.

Rev. Thomas C. Richards, the faithful chronicler of Mills's arduous labors, says:

> After an absence of one year and three days, the young missionary reached his home. He had traveled nearly three thousand miles. He had traversed nearly every State and Territory in the Union. Swimming his horse across the creeks, sleeping on the deck of a flat-boat, tramping through nearly impenetrable cane-brakes and swamps, he had kept steadfastly on. In log-houses, schoolhouse, and Statehouse, in rude church, or no church at all, he had preached the Gospel. To the pioneer, hungry for the bread of life, and to the prodigal, who had tried to get beyond the reach of God and the Gospel, he had spoken the Word in due season. His eye had been quick to see the spiritual and moral desolation in all that region that promised so much worldly prosperity. His ear had heard the great cry from the prairies of the West and the savannas of the South for the Bible, that their children should not grow up ignorant, godless, and heathen. He came back to God's country to make God's

people see the sights and hear the cries that he had seen and heard. In the next year the East heard passionate appeals from this heroic pioneer to go up and possess this great land in the name of the Lord.

In addition to the commission given Mills and Schermerhorn by the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Society, they were instructed by the "Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America," to make inquiries regarding the form of govrenment of the different tribes, their location, numbers and history. This report was published in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections,* Second Series, II, 1-48. As it was in all probability the cause, humanly speaking, of the establishment by the American Board's Mission to the Choctaw Indians, a lengthy extract is here given, not only for its direct bearing on the subject, but for its special historical value:

Of the tribes in the United States proper, the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws appear the most favorable for the establishment of a mission with the prospect of success. To the Cherokees the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church have turned their attention and are looking for missionaries of a proper character to send among them. This tribe, therefore, we will leave out of consideration and take a view of the others—Chickasaws and Choctaws. These two tribes are more numerous than the aggregate of all the tribes between the Ohio and the Lakes, and also speak the same language. From these circumstances solely, other things being equal, a mission here would be more desirable and have greater prospect of success than among either of the small tribes of Indiana or Illinois. There are other reasons which induce us to give these nations the preference. They have already made great progress in agriculture and civilization, and are by degrees casting off the Indian habits and adopting the modes of the whites. They are gradually moving out of their villages, giving up the hunting life, clearing small plantations and raising domestic animals. They have already experienced many of the blessings which flow from their change of habits, and are anxious to make further improvement, and many of them feel that this is the only way left to save themselves from extermination and ruin. It is not expected that they are anxious to have preaching, for of this they know little the advantages, though Mr. Bullin[5] informed me that many of the Chickasaws gave earnest attention, and appeared much affected under preaching. It is, however, more than probable that they are anxiout to have their children educated, and it will, perhaps, hereafter appear that the most effectual way to introduce Christianity among the Indians is to train and instruct the rising generation in the way it should go. From the application of the Chickasaw chief to Mr. Blackburn, and the

[5] Rev. Joseph Bullin was sent out by the Presbyterian Board of New York as missionary to the Chickasaw Indians. He established a station at, or near the site of Pontotoc in 1779.

fact that they support a school at their own expense, and from what the agent of the Choctaws observes, it appears evident that schools, at least, might be established among them.

For the reasons that have been given, a mission among these tribes promises more success than one among the Creeks, for the language is different in the different villages, and above all, their agent is hostile to missions. The same reasons induce me also to fix on these tribes in preference to any in Louisiana. It would be highly desirable in a missionary view to find a tribe uncontaminated by the vices of the whites, and where the iniquitous trader, by his treachery, has never learned the Indian to deceive or by his persuasion to get drunk.

Another thing very worthy of mention is that the agents of these tribes are men of reputable character, regular habits, and if I have been correctly informed, professors of religion, and would doubtless encourage at least the attempt of planting a mission among them.

As forecasted in the preceding extract, the American Board, in conjunction with the Presbyterian Church, established in 1817 a mission among the Cherokees, called Brainerd, whose site is near Chattanooga, Tennessee. This locality is known as "Missionary Ridge," on which a battle was fought in our War of Secession. The missionaries placed in charge were Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury and Mr. L. S. Williams and wife, all from New England. After a year's service there, they accepted work for the American Board.

It has already been shown and will hereafter appear in this paper, that these missionaries and teachers were not bound by strict ecclesiastical connections, or denominational preferences, but were dominated by a commendable spirit to do with their might what their hands found to do. The axiom "In union there is strength" is applicable in matters spiritual as well as material, a fact our churches are at last becoming to realize after a century of spasmodic and desultory skirmishing with the common enemy.

Before entering upon a description of this Choctaw Mission, it may prove of interest to recount some observations of conditions existing here just prior to the advent of the missionaries, together with the course, or courses, which led to its establishment.

It is an erroneous opinion that the numerous Indian tribes of North America were in a general sense a segregated people. True, they had no written language as a means of communica-

tion, and in the main their linguistic affinity was insufficient for important tribal negotiations without the aid of an interpreter; yet there was frequent intercourse between neighboring and even distant tribes, as evidenced by the presence of implements of war and of domestic utility formed of material unknown in localities in which they are found. This is accounted for by the practice of intertribal traffic. Thus, articles of European manufacture have been found among tribes far distant from the place of first sale. This fact has often caused confusion in locating the home of tribes, the route, or temporary residence of traders and explorers. Notably is this the case in assigning to De Soto such extensive, unreasonable and impossible lines of march, time and conditions considered.

It was only a short time, therefore, before the Choctaws learned of the Cherokee school at Brainerd; possibly some of them visited it. However, they induced their District Chiefs to call a meeting for the purpose of considering the question of establishing one for themselves. After due deliberation, two chiefs were assigned the duty of making formal application to the American Board for teachers to be sent out to inaugurate the work. This was done with the aid of an interpreter. The principal reasons advanced by the petitioners were that they wished their children taught the better way of life, which was found in the "White Man's Book." That they were equally as worthy as the Cherokees; that they had always been at peace with the whites, and that never had a white man's blood been shed by a Choctaw in war.

In this connection it will perhaps be of interest to reproduce here an extract from an article on "Beginnings Among the Choctaws," by Rev. H. R. Schermerhorn, Hartshorne, Oklahoma. He introduces a character in Choctaw history unknown to the writer, but perhaps familiar to our specialist in that department. Mr. Schermerhorn's statement is as follows:

> From the first, it had seemed a wondrously strange thing to Dr. Kingsbury that a people sitting in such gross darkness of superstition and heathenism, as did the Choctaws, should, of their own accord, ask for the light of the Gospel. Who had prompted them to it? What secret power had incited them to this action? He had found but one Christian man

among the Choctaws—an intermarried white man—who disclaimed all knowledge of the "Chief's letter." The missionary was told, however, that in a distant part of the nation there was a "praying negro," called "Uncle Lester." At his earliest opportunity, Dr. Kingsbury visited this humble negro slave. As he entered the poor cabin in which the negro dwelt and announced himself, "Uncle Lester" fell upon his knees and in broken accents of deepest feeling thanked the Lord that his prayers had been answered.

Thus, this once benighted negro slave, converted in Africa before his capture, had come to America and had actually prayed the Choctaw Mission into being. So was the mystery of the "Chief's letter" solved! Verily, it is more marvelous than any dream of poet, or romance of novelist.[6]

Whatever may have been the cause of action on the part of the Choctaws, whether immediate or remote, natural or supernatural, their petition was gladly received, and the American Board at once instituted inquiries for suitable persons desiring such work. Failing to find a man after diligent search, the Board was so much impressed with the prospects that it reluctantly submitted a proposition to Mr. Kingsbury to relinguish his position at Brainerd and go as Superintendent of the Choctaw Mission. The Cherokee Mission had lately been reinforced by several teachers, so that the resignation of Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Williams and his wife was not considered greatly detrimental to the cause.

Starting in wagons, these lone missionaries made the perilous journey through a veritable wilderness to a point three miles south of the Yellowbusha River and thirty miles above its junction with the Yazoo. The station selected was called Eliot, in honor of Rev. John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians" and translator of the first Indian Bible, whose diversified labors have been so fully recorded by the ecclesiastical historians of New England. Here active operations commenced, Mr. Kingsbury felling the first tree preparatory to building a log cabin. Other improvements followed as rapidly as circumstances would permit. Within fourteen months, seven commodious cabins, a school-house, lumber-house and grainery were erected. School opened with ten pupils, eight of whom had been brought one hundred and sixty miles. At the close of the year sixty were in attendance, "of whom sixteen could read the Bible with pro-

[6] *The Assembly Herald,* New York.

priety and ease." People, especially the chiefs, were urgent for multiplication and enlargement of the school. In 1821 there were eighty or more pupils. The preparation of a school-book by Mr. L. S. Williams in their own language was an important addition to their means of education. In 1819 the Choctaws made liberal appropriations for schools. A council of the lower towns, or Six towns, voted unanimously to appropriate $2,000 a year, payable quarterly, for seventeen years, for the support of schools in their district.

The school at Eliot being in successful operation, Mr. Kingsbury desired to establish another station and, for obvious reasons, to the east, in the Tombigbee region. With this in view, early in the year 1820, he, in company with Col. David Folsom, a half-breed Choctaw, visited Major John Pitchlyn, the Englishman and United States Interpreter, at his home on the river, now the site of the extinct town of Plymouth.

After a thorough inspection of the country, the three agreed upon a location in the northeastern part of the present Oktibbeha County. The station was named in memory of those excellent and devoted men, Mayhew, father and son, "who so successfully preached the Gospel to the Indians at Martha's Vineyard, and consecrated their lives to this self-denying service at an early period in the settlement of our country."

Immediately following the act of location, preparations began for its occupancy. Practically the same number and character of buildings were erected as at Eliot.

At or about this date an additional force of missionaries arrived from Massachusetts, viz.: Messrs. Byington and Hooper and Messrs. Cushman and Smith, together with their families, and also Misses Frisselle, Varnum, Chase and Thatcher, from Pennsylvania. Some of these came by ship to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, while others came by boat down the Tennessee and Mississippi to Chickasaw Bluffs, thence overland to Mayhew.

Although pioneers in the strictest sense of the word, surrounded by dangers, seen and unseen, and subjected to trials and inconveniences on every hand, life among the missionaries

was not altogether without its romances and revelations. On the arrival of the recruits for the mission at New Orleans, Mr. Kingsbury was on hand promptly to meet them, and before leaving the city was united in marriage to Miss Varnum, thereby consummating an engagement entered into before being himself consecrated to missionary endeavor.

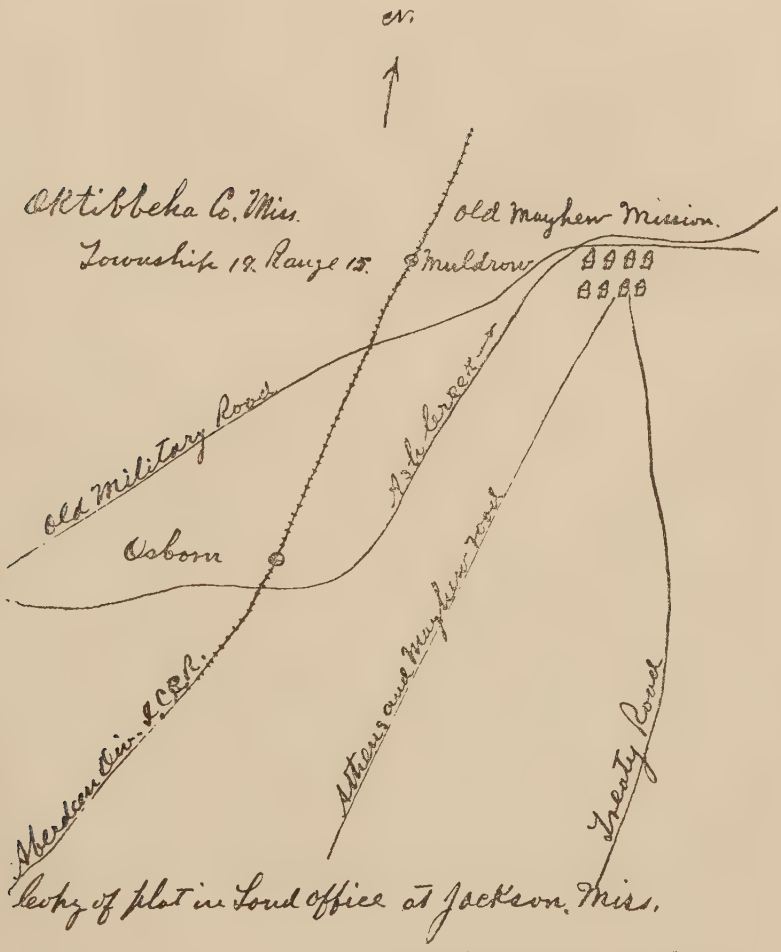
As the site of the Mayhew Mission is an historic locality in East Mississippi, the Field Notes, filed April 27, 1832, by William Dowsing at the Land Office of Mississippi at old Washington, then the Capitol of the State, is here given:

North boundary T. 19. R. 15. East on 6th mile east.

The township ran between the two rows of houses, leaving some of the dwelling houses to the north, together with the horse mill and an excellent barn, about sixty feet square. The rest of the houses were to the south of the line, as was also the plantation. Having corrected the 1/4 section post, it stands in the garden at Mayhew, being a black-jack post 41 ch. 4 lks. Bearing trees N. 83° W. 91 lks. to a china tree 14 in. diameter, S. 87° W. 77 lks. to a china tree 4 in. diameter 44° 46 lks. through the pailings and garden six miles 2 ch. and 9 lks. to a persimmon post at the N. E. corner of T. 19. R. 15 East.

Owing to the great prominence of the place in the early history of the country, a description or mention of the several roads terminating at or passing through Mayhew may not be inappropriate. The Treaty Road, running almost due south from the station, was cut preparatory to the Dancing Robbet Creek Treaty in 1830. The United States Commissioners passed over this road, both going to the treaty ground and returning therefrom. The Athens and Mayhew Road leading a little west of south. The socalled old Military Road passed from the northeast and ran half a mile to the west, then bearing to the southwest. Two roads of great prominence and importance lead to

the east, one to Plymouth, the other to Columbus. None of these roads are now in existence, with possibly one or two exceptions. The building of railroads has changed almost completely the line of dirt roads in that vicinity.



On the 20th of November, Mr. Kingsbury took up his residence at the new establishment, having removed his family there in order more conveniently to superintend the buildings which

were being erected and the other operations preparatory to the opening of the school.

School opened April 30th, with twelve pupils. Provision was made for the reception of fifty, and the number rapidly increased. Later on, in answer to the urgent request of a council of the chiefs, schools were established in various parts of the nation. One at Long Prairies, one in the house of Chief Mashulatubbee, one in the house of Juzon, a Frenchman, with a half breed family, one at Emmaus and one at Goshen, also one at French Camp, on the "Natchez Trace." A church, called Bethel, was organized at French Camp. Later a church was organized at Hebron by Calvin Cushman, of the Mayhew force.

Mr. Kingsbury, although residing at Mayhew, maintained a general supervision of all the schools, and his correspondence is very voluminous. In one of his annual reports both the Indian and adopted names of his pupils are given, with their ages and characteristics. One boy is reported as being "feeble both in body and mind; makes slow progress." Another is said to be "shrewn and sly; not very fond of his books." Another has "good talents and very superior memory."

The school was conducted on the Lancasterian plan, thus enabling the teachers to utilize the "good talents and superior memory" of the advanced and to help forward the "shrewd and sly" and "feeble in mind."

In his enrollment of pupils, the Superintendent was doubtless consciously following a binominal custom characteristic of the Indians. Although they had no surnames, some bore a multiplicity of others, either assumed or bestowed as the result of some incident, personal appearance, manner of speech or locomotion. Thus, when the somewhat euphonious appellation of Nashoba-Arnowa—*Walking Wolf*—was given to Mr. Kingsbury, it was not in a spirit of derision by "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," but on account of his walking lame on one foot, as the effect of deformity, or accident, in early life.

Mr. Byington, on the other hand, was sound in lung and limb and a preacher not only of demonstrative eloquence, but of tempered harmony, hence they dubbed him Laprish-Olahau-chick

—*Sounding Horn.* From a later report, more interesting and substantial information is gleaned. There was little change in the general condition of the schools. While some increased, others from various causes diminished, and probably there was no increase in the total enrollment of pupils. As it is with schools in civilized countries, the number of pupils depended much on the acceptableness of the teacher. The management of each school was discussed, and the teacher was blamed for partiality, for making his pupils study too hard, or for their insufficient progress, for being too severe or too lenient in his government, just as he would have been in any school district among white men.

Every schoolmaster knows that his judges are increasingly troublesome in proportion to their ignorance and incompetence. The amount of trouble, therefore, encountered by teachers among people just beginning to be civilized must have been immense. Among the Choctaws, too, some felt dissatisfied because their annuity of $6,000 a year had been put into the hands of the mission. They thought themselves able to manage it, and probably desired the profit of taking care of it. Yet the most influential chiefs and more intelligent of the people were decided and constant friends of the mission, and from year to year the schools were in better condition and the pupils made better progress.

A pardonable digression is here made to refer briefly to the highly artistic account and dramatic conclusion of the so-called civil disturbance among the Choctaws about this time, as recorded by our several State historians and writers of minor prominence, in which David Folsom and Nietchictchie play the leading roles. In the light of recent investigation, the story in the main is fiction, pure and simple. The full-blood chief and his ignorant followers, while possibly opposed to religious teaching and practice, were equally antagonistic to industrial education which required manual labor. As the Indian missions were largely supported by appropriations from funds accruing from the Civilization Act passed by Congress in 1819, there was evidently a conflict with constituted authorities; and when this was

understood the greatly magnified "impending war" subsided and peace reigned supreme.

Corroborating this view, a parallel case is cited, differing only in the results which proved detrimental to the interests of the party intended to be benefited. Rev. T. C. Stuart, Exploring Agent for the Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, says:

> Furnished with documents from the War Department, among which was a letter of introduction from Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, to the agents of the different tribes we might visit, we set out early in May, 1820. Later, by invitation from General Mitchell, agent for the Creeks, he attended a general council of chiefs and head men at Coweta Townhouse, and made an address, stating his purpose in coming among them and in addition to preaching the Gospel to them, would establish schools for the education of their children without cost to them. "To all this they listened attentively, but after a short consultation they rejected our proposition. It was a part of our plan to teach their children agriculture and the various arts of domestic life, believing that they never could be civilized without this. It was, moreover, required by the War Department, before we could receive any part of the fund appropriated by Congress for their civilization. To this they objected, saying that it they wanted their children to work they could teach them themselves. Our instructions did not allow us to establish schools on any other terms. We, therefore, set our faces to the distant West.[7]
>
> This socalled civil disturbance then was not the result of a disagreement as to emigration, but of the use or distribution of the civilization fund appropriated by the government for industrial education.

It was not until May 6, 1821, that a church was organized at Mayhew. As might be supposed, most, if not all, the missionaries and teachers were members of some evangelical church, and although the mission was under the direct control of the American Board of the Congregational Church, it did not, for reasons hereinafter stated, recommend the establishment of churches of that faith in the Southwest.

So the new church adopted as its name, "The Church of Christ," and promulgated the following preamble to their Articles of Faith and Covenant:

> We, the undersigned, having in the Providence of God been separated from our Christian brethren and the churches with which we were in covenant (and placed where the ordinances of the Gospel are not enjoyed) feel it our duty and privilege to form ourselves into a church of Christ according to the articles of faith and covenant.[8]

[7] Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, II, 430.

[8] Ms. in possession of Rev. H. R. Raymond, D. D., Starkville, Mississippi.

These articles are too lengthy to be given here in full. Article 10, however, sets forth the fundamental principles of the Calvinistic system of doctrine. The signatures appended are: Cyrus Kingsbury, Sarah V. Kingsbury, Alfred Wright, William Hooper, Calvin Cushman, William W. Pride.

No minutes of the church at Mayhew, or of the missionary meetings, have been preserved, as far as known, until May 6, 1825, when records began to be more carefully kept, and they will be found occupying twenty-five pages in volume 1 of the Minutes of Tombeckbee Presbytery. On that date a meeting of the missionary brethren was held at "Mayhew, in the Chahta Nation." It was composed of six members, including one representative from the Cherokee Mission—Rev. William Chamberlain. As forecasting future ecclesiastical connections this minute is quoted, date as above:

> Voted, That Bro. Kingsbury attend one of the Presbyteries in Alabama, at their next session, if circumstances will admit, and that the church at Mayhew be requested to send a delegate with him.
>
> Voted, That Bro. Byington visit the Presbytery in Mississippi or in Alabama at their next session with a view to receive ordination.[9]

These missionary meetings continued from year to year, going generally in succession to the three nations, viz.: Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee, until the organization of the Tombeckbee Presbytery, which included "the territory north of the Sipse River, in Alabama, and embracing the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians. Its first meeting was held at Mayhew on Friday preceding the first Sabbath in June, 1829." [10]

At one of these missionary meetings the following practical questions were discussed along with others of like import:

> How much importance should be attached to the acquisition of the native languages?
>
> What can we do for the great mass of the Indian population, not white men or their children, but the real Indian?

It is a reasonable conjecture, that one could not long engage

---

[9] Records of Missionary Meeting, 1.

[10] Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

in the work of inculcating spiritual truths among a people "sitting in gross darkness," without seriously considering the prevailing ideas regarding its genesis and destiny.

True, the Indians are gone, or so disposed of by reservation and assimilation as to be no longer an issue or factor in American politics and progress, but their life and religion remain subjects of increasing interest to students of that prehistoric period.

Current opinion from time immemorial has ascribed to the aborigines an unfailing belief in the Great Spirit. Indians as a race, speaking in a primitive sense, believe that all things, animate and inanimate, have spirits—trees, grass, the earth and all animal life—and pray to them as unto God for help and direction in every special effort or undertaking. But the Creator (First Worker) is merely one of the gods who happens to be deity of that particular tribe.

The creation of the tribes was not considered as simultaneous, but as occurring at different places, in different periods and in various ways. As to final destiny, the Indians believed that when a tribesman died he went directly to the Ghost Village. When buffaloes and grass died they, too, or their spirits, went to the ghost country. They, therefore, believed that the human ghost hunted the ghost buffaloes that fed on the ghost grass and so on *ad infinitum*. Hence primitive man has everything clear enough—*to him*—though based on wrong premises.

In Mark Twain's so-called religious book, extracts from which have recently been made public, it is said, perhaps seriously:

> Beliefs are acquirements; temperaments are born. Beliefs are subject to change; nothing whatever can change temperament.

And Joel Chandler Harris, in his latest volume of Uncle Remus Tales, makes this concessionary statement:

> After spending half a lifetime studying how these tales come to be, I have concluded no one knows much about it.

In like manner, the deeper one gets into Indian thought the less disposed he is to rationalize upon the "when, the whar and the which 'er way." The missionaries seem to have recognized this fact and, therefore, made no compromises whatever with

native belief, but, like the Apostle to the Gentiles, viewing from Mar's Hill the Athenian's altar "to the Unknown God," proclaimed:

> Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.

The Mayhew Church grew steadily in membership, mainly from the natives, irrespective of age; now the young pupil, men and women in the meridian of life; now the old, gray-haired warrior, stooped under the weight of many years, and then the person of greatest prominence in the nation, Col. David Folsom.

The missionaries were active and diligent in every direction. Schools and churches were organized and aggressive operations were everywhere observable. The church, as a result of this great awakening, received on profession of faith in 1830 the remarkable number of one hundred and fifty-five, and the further addition, in 1831, of one hundred and thirty-four members.

At a session of the Tombigbee Presbytery, at Columbus, January 8, 1830, Calvin Cushman, an elder of the Mayhew Church, presented a petition from that church to be received under its care, which was granted.[11] This action and others of a similar nature throughout the Southwest was, doubtless, in accordance with the so-called "Plan of Union" between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, adopted in 1804, which in different ways proved injurious to both—a sacrifice of territory, men and money on the part of Congregationalism and the introduction of discord, dissension and even division in the Presbyterian Church.

The Rev. Samuel Swayze, of New York (1772), and the Rev. Jedediah Smith, of Massachusetts (1775), Congregationalists, were probably the first Protestant ministers to live within the present State of Mississippi,[12] but their families and descendants went almost bodily into the Presbyterian Churches.

The Choctaw lands east of the Tombigbee River having been transferred to the Mississippi Territory under the cession of 1816, there soon began a great influx of immigration from the States of the Atlantic Coast. That noted thoroughfare, the

[11] Minutes of Tombigbee Presbytery.
[12] Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 77-78.

Jackson Military Road, crossing the river at Columbus, was completed later, and for years contributed greatly to the convenience and comfort of the traveling public, and the postoffice established there in 1820 added benefits not enjoyed by those living in the interior of the nation. Just here another corroborative statement can be appropriately quoted from Rev. Thomas C. Stuart, a name honored and revered throughout East Mississippi. His home, while he was Missionary to the Chickasaw Indians, was near Pontotoc:

> The want of mail accommodations was a great privation. For many years there had been a regular mail from Nashville to Natchez, passing through the Indian country [over the Natchez Trace, opened in 1801], but soon after I came [1820] it was removed to the Military Road, and then our nearest postoffice was Columbus, sixty-five miles distant. The Government agent was authorized to hire an express once a month, and through him we received our mails regularly. In a few years a postoffice was established at Cotton Gin Port, within a day's ride, which was quite an advance in the right direction.

Concerning his standard beverage, coffee, Mr. Stuart says:

> The first I obtained from Mobile cost thirty-five cents a pound by the sack, and the freight to Columbus, by keel-boat, was $5. I have paid as high as fifty cents a pound in Cotton Gin Port.[13]

Mayhew and vicinity in the meantime grew in importance as a business and religious center. While only one of the several missionary stations among the Choctaws, its accessibility and the fact that it was the place of residence of Mr. Kingsbury, the Superintendent of all the missions, made it a well-known place throughout the country. By order of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, the new Presbytery of Tombigbee was constituted at Mayhew, June 7, 1829; and on November 11th following the new Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama, composed of the Presbyteries of Mississippi, South Alabama and Tombigbee, held its first session at Mayhew. Its close proximity to the Choctaw Agency, also in Oktibbeha County, where the Indians received a part of their bounties from the government rendered its locality familiar to all residents of the nation. The statement of one of our State historians (Rowland) that the

[13] Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 446.

Mayhew Mission was moved to Eliot is altogether misleading. There were no removals, but on the contrary, new stations were being established and a spirit of revival was everywhere present up to the date of the general exodus in 1832-3. There was, however, a striking similarity in the plans and operations of the two stations, and the following excerpt from Adam Hodgson's [14] account of his visit to Eliot applies equally to Mayhew, even to "the prophets' chamber," Mr. Kingsbury having removed thither.

I was gratified by my visit to Eliot, this garden in a moral wilderness, and was pleased with the opportunity of seeing a missionary settlement in its infant state, before the wounds from recent separation from kindred and friends had ceased to bleed, and habit had rendered the missionaries familiar with the peculiarities of their novel situation The sight of the children also, many of them still in Indian costume, was most interesting. I could not help imagining, that, before me, might be some Alfred of this western world, the future founder of institutions which are to enlighten and civilize his country, some Choctaw Swartz or Eliot, destined to dissiminate the blessings of Christianity from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea. I contrasted them in their social, their moral, and their religious conditions, with the straggling white hunters and their painted faces, who occasionally stare through the windows, or with half-naked natives, whom we had seen a few nights before, dancing around their midnight fires, with their tomahawks and scalping knives rending the air with their fierce warwhoops, or making the woods thrill with their wild yells.

But they form a still stronger contrast with the poor Indians, whom we had seen on the frontier, corrupted, degraded, debased by their intercourse with English, Irish, or American traders. It was not without emotions, that I parted, in all human probability forever in this world, from my kind and interesting friends, and prepared to return to the tumultuous scenes of a busy world from which, if life be spared, my thoughts will often stray to the sacred solitudes of Yellow Busha as a source of most grateful and refreshing recollections.

Of Mr. Kingsbury and his immediate surroundings the writer says:

A log cabin, detached from the other wooden buildings, in the middle of a boundless forest, in an Indian country, consecrated, if I may be allowed the expression, by standing on missionary ground, and by forming at once the dormitory and the sanctuary of a man of God; it seemed to be indeed the prophets' chamber, with the "bed and the table, the stool and the candlestick." It contained, also, a little bookcase, with a valuable selection of valuable books, periodicals, biographical and devotional, among which I found many an old acquaintance in this foreign land, and which enabled Mr. Kingsbury in his few moments

[14] Adam Hodgson's Letters from North America.

of leisure to converse with many who have long since joined the "spirits of just men made perfect," or to sympathize with his fellow-laborers in Staheite, Africa, or Hindoostan. *

Regarding the missionary force, he continues:

I was particularly struck with their humility, with their kindness of manner towards one another, and the little attentions which they seemed solicitous to reciprocate. They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced in at as great degree by the soldier, the sailor, or even the merchant.

In justice to the subject under consideration and as illustrative of a similar impression made on the minds of different persons visiting these missionary stations, the following extracts are given from an account of the Mayhew Mission by a correspondent, "Viator," in *The Tuscumbian,* of Tuscumbia, Alabama, March 28, 1826:[15]

* * * The view of this station, on approaching it, is beautiful in the extreme. This is the case even amidst the gloomy desolations of winter, although I am informed in spring and summer is incomparably more so. The buildings, six or eight in number, situated on an elevated spot, in the midst of a grove of oaks, are seen at a distance of more than a mile. The cultivated lands next appear; they are well fenced, in good order, and of a rich soil. The beauty of the place is heightened by the extent of the prospect, the undulating form of the land, the swells and depressions of hill and vale, and the flocks ranging upon the prairie. This scene affords a pleasant contrast to the wide extent of uncultivated country around and strikes the mind of the traveler with an agreeable surprise.

On coming to the place one is reminded of primitve Christianity—they have "all things in common." There are, belonging to the establishment at this time, four families and two unmarried persons. Mr. Kingsbury presides over it as superintendent, an office for which he is indefatigable. There are, besides these above mentioned, several hired laborers and about seventy scholars.

They have a physician, a teacher, a farmer, and a mechanic. These all attend generally to the business of their own departments, but mutually assist each other when necessary. The families have their own separate apartments, which they occupy as nurseries and lodgings, but all eat together at the same table. Their provisions are plain, but wholesome, well preserved, well cooked and plentiful. They are mostly such as are procured from the farm. From this is furnished a supply of beef, pork, corn, milk, butter, etc., though not enough of the last named article for constant use. The prairie affords good pasturage in summer, and from the same prairie is cut hay of a very good quality to feed the stock on duing the winter.

[15] Courtesy Alabama Department Archives and History.

Their fruniture is of the plainest kind. The dishes and plates are pewter, the cups and drinking vessels are all of tin. They use a kind of domestic coffee, made of rye, a wholesome and pleasant beverage; they are not, however, without coffee, which they use on some occasions. They also make use of souchong tea.

Cleanliness and order are strictly observed. The children are all decently clothed, some precisely in the manner of the whites; others not without some resemblance to the native costume. This, however, would scarcely be noticed among the females; it is seen more in the boys. Many of the latter are observed to be girded with a handkerchief or curiously wrought belt, to wear beads and pendants, and the like. That they should retain some attachments to the notions of their countrymen and their childhood, is, perhaps, less surprising than that they retain no more. Why this passion for ornament prevails least in the females, is a most singular fact. It is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the servile condition in which the sex is accustomed to be held by the natives. They appear respectful, docile, cheerful and content. It is amusing to witness their pastimes, to see them engaged in their juvenile sports, lively, active and good humored, scarcely differing, indeed, from any other youth, only in language and color.

In school they exhibit an interesting appearance. They are all, as before observed, about seventy. Of each sex there is about an equal number. They are taught in separate rooms at a sufficient distance. The girls are under the care of a female instructor. Their improvements show them not only capable, but actually in a rapid course of civilization. About one-third can read fluently, another third can read a little, and the rest are in different stages of advancement in spelling. A considerable number write a fair hand, and some have made advancement in arithmetic and geography.

Considering the disadvantages under which they labor from their entire ignorance or small acquaintance with the English language on their admission, their progress cannot be considered less than that of youths of our own country.

The females are taught various kinds of needlework, and actually make most of the clothes worn in the school. They are also taught domestic economy and all kinds of household business. These things they attend to morning and evening before and after the hours of school.

The males at the same time are occupied in agricultural employments and in learning various mechanical arts, such as blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright and chair-making business, etc. They do not, however, learn these mechanic arts promiscuously; there is a certain number confined to each. Industry and economy are strikingly seen throughout the whole establishment and cannot fail to be incorporated with the habits of the youth.

Great care is taken to give them moral and religious instruction. On Sabbath, their time, except what is taken up in attending divine service, is employed in committing to memory important passages of Scripture and catechism. It is truly astonishing to see what number of these some of them have committed and with what readiness they will answer questions in relation to Scriptural doctrine and fact * * *.

It is worthy of notice that, although the missionaries have devoted themselves for life, and their services are attended with many hardships and privations, yet they receive nothing as a reward but a mere support. This fact of which I had often been informed, and which they assured me was true, may serve to correct an erroneous opinion but too prevalent

in many places, that the plan of civilizing the Indians is founded on speculation. The natives, so far as I could learn, are generally well disposed toward the object. As a proof of this, they have, as I was informed, appropriated $5,000 yearly out of their annuity toward its support. It is also true, as has been reported, that they have, besides, appropriated to education the whole amount of the purchase lately made by our Government, namely, $6,000 annually; it will be sufficient to educate their children, and the next generation may see them placed nearly on an equality, in point of intellectual improvement, with our own countrymen.

At the risk of trespassing upon preëmpted territory or, indeed, upon fields already historically scanned and sifted, a pause is here made in the Choctaw narrative to recount briefly some other missionary endeavors not included in the original plan of this paper. Mention has heretofore been made of Rev. Thomas C. Stuart, a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians, and representative of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. As the several stations established by him were transferred in 1827 to the American Board, thus uniting these Mississippi missions under one organization, this digression, it is hoped, will not be considered irrelevant.

As exploring agents (not regular missionaries) of the religious body above mentioned, the Rev. David Humphries and Rev. Thomas C. Stuart were appointed, and set out April, 1820, to visit the Creeks and Chickasaws for the purpose of obtaining the requisite information and to make the necessary arrangements for establishing mission stations among them. The Creeks rejected the offer of schools, as has already been stated. These agents then passed on to the Chickasaws, where they held a council on June 22nd. Their proposition was acceded to by these Indians, the chief and several representatives signing the obligations, as did Messrs. Humphries and Stuart. A site was selected for a missionary station and the agents returned to South Carolina.

During the fall Mr. Humphries labored within the bounds of his Presbytery and a regular call was given him by the churches

of Roberts and Good Hope, over which he was ordained as pastor. He had a young family and no resources.[16]

The probabilities are that it was never his purpose to become an Indian missionary, and having discharged the duty imposed upon him as exploring agent, he doubtless felt justified in acepting religious work at home.

The statement then, that "Rev. David Humphries offered to take charge of the intended mission, and during the journey concluded that he was not called to preach to the Indian" is probably second-hand history and erroneous as well. Such historical mistakes and reflections should not go uncorrected.

The writer, however, commits another more or less grievous error in assigning to Mr. Humphries in two instances and in separate articles, twenty-line quotations which appear *verbatim et literatim* in Mr. Stuart's *History of the Indian Mission of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.* Evidently a careless deal in data.[17]

The mission among the Chickasaws was commenced in 1821. The number of the tribe was six or seven thousand. On December 17, 1827, this mission was transferred to the American Board. The principal reasons for this change was the fact that the establishment among the Chickasaws might be more closely united with similar establishments among the Cherokees and Choctaws; that the board could supply their wants with more certainty and regularity and at much less expense than the Synod. The number of stations were four. They were at Monroe, about forty-five miles northwest of Mayhew and twenty-five west of Cotton Gin Port; Toksish Station, two miles from Monroe; Martyn Station, sixty miles northwest of Monroe; Caney Creek, ninety miles east of Martyn and three miles south of the Tennessee River.

---

[16] Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina,* 392 393; Warren's "Frontier Characters and Schools" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VIII,, 582-583.

[17] Warren's "Chickasaw Chiefs and Prominent Men" in Ibid., 561; Warren's "Frontier Characters and Schools" in Ibid., 582.

Of the transfer, Mr. Stuart says:

> To this we did not object because it brought us into more immediate contact with the missionaries of the Choctaws, to whom we were much attached and with whom we had had much intercourse for years past.[18]

As exploring agent in 1820, he visited the veteran, Kingsbury, at Eliot, that he might profit by the experience of others.

While the Choctaw Mission was thus well organized and conducted, receiving a generous moral and financial support, and its educational and spiritual influences observant in every direction, there were forces in motion which if successful would terminate or, at least, suspend its operations.

Although the nation had at different times ceded large tracts of its territory, it still owned over 16,000,000 acres of land in Mississippi, and, according to the census of 1830, had a population of nearly 25,000.[19] But immigration was pouring in from the eastward, and the cry was for more land, thus forcing on the government an irrepressible struggle. As a solution, President Monroe, in 1827, suggested in a special message to Congress the propriety of removing the Indian tribes to a reservation west of the Mississippi River. Looking to that end, a National Choctaw Council was held in 1828 at the Agency, only ten miles south of Mayhew, at which Col. Thomas L. McKinney represented the United States. But no immediate results followed their discussion of the subjects of a land cession and emigration. In the meantime, large appropriations were made by Congress for use in making treaties with the Indians. These acts, with the State legislation which restricted tribal authority and subjected the Indians to State laws, culminated in a treaty with the Choctaws at Dancing Rabbit Creek, Noxubee County, in 1830. By this treaty all the lands owned by the Choctaws in Mississippi were ceded to the United States in consideration of lands allotted them west of the Mississippi River, except certain contingent claims and special reservations. Of the governmental policy and State legislation adopted to effect this treaty, it is needless here

[18] Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 433.
[19] Statistics from the *The American Almanac.*

to mention, as it can be readily found in the records, but it will not be amiss to present in this connection some of the immediate causes that brought about the treaty.[20]

It must be recorded, that a large portion of the white people at Dancing Rabbit were not the best characters, being mainly rowdies, gamblers and saloon-keepers—in short, the bad element characteristic of the American frontier * * *

The dissipation and revelry at Dancing Rabbit was not confined to the day time alone, for every night somewhere on the ground, there was a big Indian dance, which was always protracted to a late hour. By a strange parodox in the nature of the Choctaws, than whom no more chaste race ever existed, there was no licentiousness whatever at Dancing Rabbit. It is also pleasing to record that amid all the scenes of Indian amusement, gambling and revelry, there was a notable exception in the conduct of the Christian Indians who lived under the jurisdiction of Captain David Folsom. This Christian party, with their captain, kept up their religious services of preaching, praying and singing every night to a late hour.

Two unpleasant duties confronted the commissioners on their arrival at the treaty ground of Dancing Rabbit. One was to allay the discontents and dissatisfactions prevailing among the Indians so that they would assemble peaceably in council. The second was a correspondence lasting two days, with the missionaries, who greatly desired, whether wisely or unwisely, to be present during the progress of the negotiations. They not only desired to be present, so that the Indians should have the benefit of religious instrutions on the Sabbath, but supposed that their presence might be necessary on account of some questions arising during the negotiations that might effect the interests of the missionary board under which they were laboring. The missionaries finally yielded to the positive demands of the commissioners that they should not come upon the treaty ground, as their religious instructions would have a tendency to distract the Indians' minds during the progress of the negotiations. To an impartial spectator on the treaty ground at that time, it might, perhaps, have seemed a serious query, which of the two would be likely to prove the greatest obstacle or impediment to the treaty negotiations, the religious exercises of the missionaries and their Indian converts, or the drinking saloons and faro tables that were so freely patronized by the disorderly white and Indian element.[21]

After presenting a lengthy and exhaustive account of the assembling of the council, its deliberations, and the final results of the negotiations, Mr. Halbert concludes with this brief and significant statement:

To sum up the whole matter, it can be safely placed on record that the

---

[20] Halbert's "Story of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 373-402.

[21] Ibid., 377-378.

seductive influence of the fourteenth article, fear, intimidation and coercion, all more or less combined, were the causes that prompted the Choctaw councilmen to sign the Treaty of Daning Rabbit[22]

But the *ultimatum* had gone forth, the treaty must be made. The Indians were opposed to it, but could not resist by force of arms without violating the oft-made boast that they had never shed the blood of white men in war, and they were frequently reminded of this.

Although as individuals they owned no land, yet they entertained great attachment and even reverence for the home of their ancestors. Many of the Choctaws, realizing that the treaty was made by only a fragment of the nation, in the name of the whole, did not believe that it would be enforced against them. But in this they were sadly mistaken. In February of the following year, the Senate of the United States ratified the treaty. Their country was sold, and they had to leave it. On Saturday, April 19, 1831, the school at Mayhew was examined. Col. David Folsom was present with many of his people. The meeting was continued by religious exercises until Monday. The Lord's Supper was administered. A petition was drawn up and signed by leading members of the church, stating their past and present condition and requesting that at least some of the missionaries might accompany them to their new home. Colonel Folsom delivered a "talk" in support of the petition, and Mr. Kingsbury replied, encouraging the hope that their request would be granted. The Prudential Committee could not do otherwise than comply.

Towards the close of the year the removal actually commenced. The season was unusually severe, and great suffering ensued. In gathering up all the inhabitants of an Indian town, old and young, sick, lame and destitute, and marching miles through forests in winter, it could not be avoided. One body of several hundred passed through the Chickasaw country and halted a short time near Martyn, a mission station. The contractor seemed to do all in his power to render them comfortable, but it could not be done. More than nine-tenths of the women, it was believed, were barefooted, and a great majority of them

[22] Ibid., 400.

obliged to walk. One party came to Martyn and begged an ear of corn for each, to appease their hunger. The amount of unavoidable suffering was great. Some, in crossing the swamps of the Mississippi, were surrounded by rising waters from which there was no means of escape.

The captain of the steamboat took off one company, who had been confined six days in this perilous condition and were perishing with hunger. He saw at least one hundred horses standing frozen dead in the mud. Many died of sickness, brought on by exposure and fatigue, and many by cholera.

The Christian Choctaws had morning and evening worship in their tents or boats and refused to labor on the Sabbath or to travel, unless compelled. The captain of the boat that carried one party remarked that they were the most religious people he ever had to do with, and another said that "their singing and praying made the passage appear like a continued meeting," and an agent, who had the best opportunities for judging, said that the trouble of removing those who had been under missionary instruction was less by half than that of removing others. Meanwhile, the schools were gradually closed, and the missions broken up. Some of the missionaries retired from service; others prepared to follow their people to the West and a few remained to close up the concerns of the mission and give such instruction and exert such good influence as was possible during the breaking up of the nation. But two missionaries, with their families, remained. Mr. Kingsbury at Mayhew and Mr. Byington at Yoknokchaya. They did not teach any longer, for the children were gone. About forty members of the church at Mayhew lingered around their spiritual birthplace and listened attentively when the Gospel was preached.

Mr. Kingsbury was principally employed in disposing of the property and closing up the extensive secular concerns of the mission and Mr. Byington in preparing a Choctaw dictionary and grammar. The board relinquished to the nation the annuity which was due annually until 1836; and later received from the United States $4,611.31 for its improvements at the abandoned stations.

The new missions among the Choctaws were to be conducted on a less expensive scale. As fewer laborers were required, several of the teachers were, at their own request, released from the service of the board. Most of them had expended ten or twelve of the best years of their lives in missionary labors and sufferings, with no compensation but a bare subsistence for the time; and such of them as had property had given it to the board. They were, therefore, about to be left without employment, in the decline of life and with impaired health, and the board was not auhorized to give, nor were the missionaries willing to receive, such compensation for past services, as labors might have commanded in some worldly pursuits. But they were given from the household, agricultural and other movable property at the several stations, which could be no longer used for missionary purposes and which were least salable, such articles as would enable them to commence frugal arrangements for their future support.

Early in the autumn of 1833 the last party of Choctaws departed for their new country in the west. The whole number removed was about 15,000. Many remained in the southern part of their old country, and a few in other parts, but the nation was gone, and they were mere individual Indians in a community of white men.[23]

From Claiborne's *Life and Times of General Sam Dale*, who was appointed a contractor to remove one party of the Indians, this pathetic account is not considered inappropriate:

> I found the great body of the Choctaws were sad, making no arrangements until the last moment, to remove, clinging around their humble cabins, and returning again and again to the resting-place of their dead. Even the sternest warriors, trained to suppress every emotion, appeared unmanned, and, when we camped at night, many of them stole back in the darkness, twenty, thirty and even forty miles, to take a "last fond look" at the graves of their household * * * Some who had not yet buried their dead, for it is the custom of the Choctaws to expose the dead on scaffolds for a certain time, during which they spend many

[23] Substance of the account furnished to the writer by the American Board.

hours every day weeping around their remains—absolutely refused to go until the allotted time for these ceremonies had expired.[24]

Joseph G. Baldwin, an inimitable and versatile genius of the period, who came into the Choctaw cession soon after the deportation, makes the following caustic comment:

> And in Indian affairs! The very mention is suggestive of theft, the romance of a wild and weird larceny! What sublime conception of super-Spartan roguery! Swindling Indians by the nation! Stealing their lands by the township. Conducting the nation to the Mississippi River, stripping them to the flap and bidding them Godspeed as they went howling into the western wilderness.

To this general accusation and arraignment some tenable ground of support may not inappropriately be recorded here as matters of State history additional to that elsewhere found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society.*

In a letter from the Secretary of War, addressed to Hon. J. J. McKay, Chairman Committee of Ways and Means, under date of January 21, 1845, relative to "The contracts for the emigration of the Choctaw Indians from the interior of the State of Mississippi; with a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stating the number of Indians removed, etc., with sundry other documents relating the same subject," occurs these statements and communications:

> The Choctaw Indians in Mississippi have been reported by this department at 3,223 in number until lately. This number was the result of a deduction from the general census of the whole tribe made in 1831 of the number contained in the muster-rolls of those received west of the Mississippi. Letters from J. McRea, emigrating agent, and George S. Gaines, Esq. (dated 22d September last), one of the present board of Choctaw commissioners, represent the number, from the best information they can obtain, at about 7,000; the latter gentleman saying they will be found "little short of 7,000 souls." The number is, and must be until they are actually enrolled, a matter of conjecture. The impression in the Indian Bureau has been that they do not exceed 5,000 souls. The contracts, however, provide only for so many as shall be removed and subsisted in the West—looking both to the uncertainty of the number in Mississippi, and to the further contingency of the possible refusal of

[24] Claiborne's *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale,* 175-176. This is perhaps a misleading statement. According to the best authorities the Choctaw custom of scaffolding the dead became obsolete about the year 1800, though it may possibly have been observed in a few isolated settlements as late as 1832.

some of them who are there to emigrate. The idea has been sometimes entertained, that the number of those who remained in Mississippi when the mass of the tribe in 1832-'33 emigrated, was enlarged by the return of some of them to that State. The best information in the department leads to an opposite conclusion, and, I believe, among those best informed on the subject, there is in this particular no difference of opinion.

You inquire of me, "how many Indians elected to remain, and claim lands under the provisions of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek?" To this I answer, that, according to the report of Messrs. Murray and Vroom, commissioners under the act of March, 1837, applications were made to them, under the fourteenth article of the treaty, to the number of 1,349, and that, on the register made by Mr. Ward, an agent of the Government appointed to ascertain the fact, the number of those who signified to him their intention to remain was seventy-seven, making, in all, 1,426.

In answer to the inquiry of how many Indians received land under the treaty? I infer that this question has reference to those who received lands under the fourteenth article, which is the one the Indians proposed to be removed claim under, I answer, that of those on Ward's register, land has been allotted to sixty-seven heads; of those reported on favorably by Murray and Vroom, land has been allotted to twenty-five heads, and of those reported on by Claiborne and Gaines, land has been allotted to six, making a total of ninety-eight, and the scrip of land, which has been prepared for families to the number of 211, making a total of 309.

The following correspondence included in documents numbered 9 and the other No. 1 are given as directly bearing on the subject:

WAR DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS,
January 2, 1845.

Sir,—In compliance with your verbal request, I have the honor to inform you that the number of Choctaws removed from Mississippi, etc., up to the year 1836, was 14,203, and that the actual cost of removing and subsisting them amounted to $847,124.17, making the average cost, per head $59.64, or say for removal $39.64, and for subsistence for one year $20.

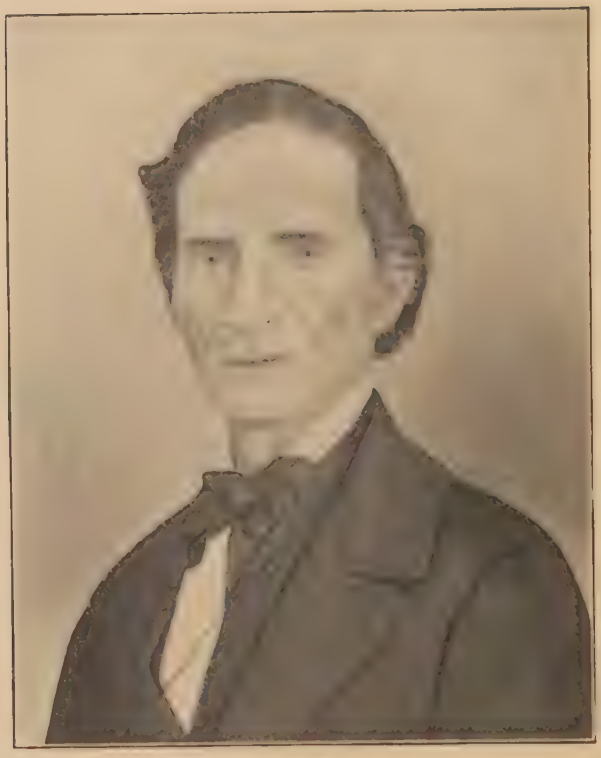
Very respectfully your most obedient servant,
T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD.

HON. J. J. MCKAY,
Chairman Committee of Ways and Means,
House of Representatives.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
May 7, 1836.

Sir,—A portion of the Choctaw Indians (amounting to some three or four thousand) still remain in the limits of the States of Alabama and Mississippi, a large proportion of whom are anxious to emigrate to the West, if the means were provided by the Government.

Letters have been received by the Mississippi delegation, stating that the Choctaws in Mississippi are in a state of much excitement, and have already burned several houses on the frontier. There is some reason to fear that they may catch the war spirit now prevailing so extensively



THE REV. CYRUS KINGSBURY, D. D.

among the tribes of the South, and, under this impression, we respectfully call your attention to the matter, and hope you will ask an appropriation for the removal of such as are willing to emigrate. The object is to introduce this appropriation into the bill to carry into execution the Cherokee Treaty, which will soon be before the House.

Very respectfully, etc.,

DAVID DICKSON,
J. F. H. CLAIBORNE,
JNO. BLACK.

HON. L. CASS.

I concur in requesting this appropriation.

R. J. WALKER.

I also concur in requesting this appropriation.

F. S. LYON.[25]

As to Col. David Folsom, it may be stated here, that contrary to the oft-repeated assertion that he did not go West with the Choctaws; that he lost caste and influence by favoring their removal, which he never regained, it is proper to say that he did go. True, not with the first emigration party, for, having lands, live stock and merchandise to be disposed of he was necessarily detained thereby, but he did go later and enjoyed the distinction of being elected their first chief under the ballot system as the following epitaph on his monument there will show:

To the memory of Colonel David Folsom, the first Republican chief of the Chahtah nation, the promoter of industry, education, religion and morality, was born January 25, 1791, and departed this life September 24, 1847, aged fifty-six years and eight months.

He being dead yet speaketh.[26]

DR. CYRUS KINGSBURY.

Cyrus Kingsbury was born at Alstead, New Hampshire, November 22, 1786. He made a profession of religion at West Medway, Massachusetts, 1806. His preparatory education was obtained under Rev. Dr. Crame, of Northbridge, Massachusetts. He graduated from Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, in 1812, and from Andover Seminary in 1815. After his ordination as a missionary at Ipswich, September 29, 1815, he spent six months, January to July, 1816, in Virginia and East Ten-

[25] Twenty-eighth Congress, Second Session, Document No. 107, House of Representatives. War Department.

[26] Cushman's *Indians*, 349; also a copy by Nuby Folsom, a descendant.

nessee under the direction of the Connecticut Missionary Society. In September, 1816, made his first visit to the Cherokees, and in October, 1816 or 1817, he attended a general council of the Cherokees and Creeks and was favorably received. After making preparations for a mission, by purchasing a plantation, etc., he returned to Tennessee to fulfill some engagements. He began missionary work at the place afterwards called Brainerd, January 13, 1817, and was joined by Hall and Williams, March 7th of the same year. They labored with great diligence and bore a heavy burden of care and business and was subjected to great inconvenience through the year.

About the 1st of June, 1818, Mr. Kingsbury, with Mr. and Mrs. Williams, left Brainerd to establish a mission among the Choctaws. They traveled in a wagon 400 miles through the wilderness and arrived at the place afterwards called Eliot, on June 27th. After various hindrances, the first tree was felled August 15th. A log house was erected August 16th. On November 20, 1820, he commenced a new station at Mayhew, 100 miles east of Eliot. The Choctaws having sold their lands to the United States in 1830 and having removed to the West, Mr. Kingsbury spent five months, beginning in October, 1833, in visiting the missions in that region. In the summer and autumn of 1834 he and Mr. Byington (*infra*) made a tour among the Indians west of the State of Missouri; visited the missionary stations among the Osages, Creeks and Cherokees, and in December proceeded to the Choctaw country. Mr. Kingsbury removed his family from Mayhew, in the old Choctaw country, to Pine Ridge, near Fort Towson, in February, 1836, arriving there February 25th. He resided there and labored in that vicinity with great diligence and fidelity until the discontinuance of the Choctaw Mission in 1859. After that time he continued to labor in the same field in connection with the Presbyterian and Southern Presbyterian Boards till his death, June 27, 1870.[27]

From other sources the following additional information is culled regarding Mr. Kingsbury and his family:

[27] Memorandum from the Records of American Board.

Mrs. Kingsbury died and was buried at Mayhew, September 15, 1822, leaving two little sons—Cyrus, Jr., and John. The latter was buried in the same cemetery with his father at old Boggy Depot, Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The former, when last heard from, was in Iowa.[28]

Only a casual reading of the Presbyterial records here will attest the zeal and activity with which Mr. Kingsbury pursued his duties as a Presbyter. At an earily period of his work at Mayhew he joined the South Alabama Presbytery, and on the formation of the Tombigbee Presbytery he was one of its original and prominent members, being clerk of the first session held at Mayhew. There are numerous other evidences of his usefulness. He prepared the first "Narrative of the State of Religion"; drew up a "Constitution for a Temperance Society"; was a Moderator of the Presbytery and a Commissioner to the General Assembly.[29]

A minister who knew Dr. Kingsbury well and intimately says:

> While he talked freely of mission work yet he seldom said anything in regard to his own personal history. I would say that the degree of D. D. was conferred upon Dr. Kingsbury by some New England college, Amherst, I think, but I am not at all sure that I am correct.

And in an article already quoted the writer pays this high tribute to a name that will ever be prominent in the history of Indian missions:

> Permit us to say in passing, that if a nobler man, a more devoted Christian, and a more indefatigable worker than was Cyrus Kingsbury has ever trodden God's earth we surely have failed to meet him.[30]

Rev. Thomas C. Stuart.

The subject of this sketch was born in the year 1793 and was licensed by the South Carolina Presbytery April 3, 1819, and sent out on a four months' mission within its bounds. At the autumn meeting he was again sent on a four months' mission

[28] Cushman's *Indians.*
[29] Presbyterial Records.
[30] Rev. H. R. Schermerhorn, Hartshorne, Okla.

to the Alabama country and was furnished with one month's pay in advance.

These extracts from an account of his tour will doubtless be of historic interest:

He set out from Rev. John Harrison's, in the State of Georgia, on the 1st of November, 1819, through a wilderness of about 180 miles before reaching the territory. First preached in the upper part of Jones' Valley, proceeded through Rook's Valley to the town of Tuscaloosa, a flourishing place of about 1,300 inhabitants. A band were meeting at each others houses for religious services on the Sabbath, had a house of worship nearly completed, and were desirous of obtaining the services of a Presbyterian clergyman for part of his time. He next visited McKeon's Bluff, and preached on Sabbath, November 4th, in a Methodist Church to a large audience. Thence to St. Stevens, Jackson, Clairborne, Blakely and Mobile. At Blakely he found a very good church edifice occupied by Presbyterians, where some one reads a sermon, and performs the rest of the service in the Episcopalian mode. He speaks of Mobile as having a population of about 2,500, having no Protestant church at that time, but designing to build one.

On the 23d he preached at Cahawba, having about 250 inhabitants and desiring a Presbyterian preacher. Then to Pleasant Valley, thickly settled with Presbyterians where Rev. Mr. Porter, eighteen months before, had preached to the Valley Creek Church, as they had named it, and admitting between thirty and forty to the Lord's table. His congregations there were crowded and attentive. Thence to the Mulberry Settlement, with Rev. Mr. Newton, who was quite infirm and able to do little in the way of ministerial duty.[81]

In April, 1820, Mr. Stuart set out, as co-worker with Mr. Humphries in the capacity of exploring agents for the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, visiting first the Creek Indians, but finding them unwilling to receive missionaries, passed on to the Chickasaws, entered into obligations with the king and representatives, selected a sight for the mission and returned to South Carolina in July.

Having been accepted by the Synod as their first missionary to the Chickasaws, after a tedious journey of five weeks and five days he arrived at the site selected, January 31, 1821, and *settled down.*

Mr. Humphries was never a missionary to the Indians.

An account of Mr. Stuarts work among the Chickasaws will be found on a preceding page of this article, but other activities can be appropriately noted here.

---

[81] *Christian Intelligencer,* Charleston, S. C., II, p. 54.

Like the tireless Kingsbury, besides giving thought and personal attention to the various duties of superintendent of several mission stations, he was an active and valuable member of the Missionary Association and later became a member of the Tombigbee Presbytery, which relation he sustained until the formation of the Chickasaw Presbytery.

After the removal of the Indians, he labored diligently and continuously among the churches and destitute places in Pontotoc County and elsewhere. In 1856, still retaining a warm affection for his "red children" of former days, he visited the nation in its new home in the West. In speaking of this he says:

> It was on many accounts an exceedingly pleasant visit, yet not unmingled with some sad reflections. Many with whom I had taken sweet counsel in years long since past away, and with whom I had gone to the House of God, were no more among the living * * * I spent just one month in the country and traveled extensively among the people. I found them contented and happy. For several years after they emigrated they were very much dissatisfied. Sickness prevailed among them and many of their old people died * * * I was delighted at the advances made in civilization, which were everywhere present. It was my good fortune to be present at the meeting of their first Legislature and the election and inauguration of their first Governor. There being three candidates before the people, and no one receiving a constitutional majority, the election devolved upon the Legislature. In all their elections they vote *viva voce,* each one calling out his favorite candidate. There were but thirty votes cast, the Legislature consisting of twelve Senators and eighteen Representatives. Of these, Harris, the successful candidate, received seventeen votes. He and six of the Senators were educated at Monroe, the speaker of the house was educated at Martyn, and one who bears the revered name of Archibald Alexander, was educated at Caney Creek.[32]

As a summary of his "History of the Indian Missions of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia," Mr. Stuart concludes:

> After all, I doubt whether our trials and privations were much greater than those of many who perform long journeys to newly settled countries, that they may improve their worldly circumstances.

And here we see the mettle and make-up of the man—giving freely, even joyously, of the best years of his life to inconveniences and privations, enduring with patience the physical and

---

[32] Howe's *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina,* 437-438.

mental strain consequent to his holy calling, and in the end claiming no reward save a consciousness of duty well and faithfully performed. Of a genial nature, courtly and refined—indeed, a typical South Carolina gentleman of the old school, his presence was everywhere appreciated—the rich, the poor, the educated and the less fortunate, all had a ready and hearty welcome for "Father Stuart," a distinction worthily won and appropriately bestowed as regards matters material as well as spiritual.

After a long, useful and eventful career this sincere Christian philanthropist died at Tupelo October 9, 1882, and was buried at Pontotoc, where also rests the remains of his saintly wife and only child, Mrs. M. J. Stewart.

As a fitting close to this desultory and imperfect sketch, the following is given from Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethonology, than whom no one is better qualified to speak:

> In the four centuries of American history there is no more inspiring chapter of heroism, self-sacrifice and devotion to high ideals than that afforded by the Indian missions. Some of the missionaries were of noble blood and had renounced titles and estates to engage in the work; most of them were of finished scholarship and refined habits, and nearly all were of such exceptional ability as to have commanded attention in any community and to have possessed themselves of wealth and reputation had they so chosen; yet they deliberately faced poverty and sufferings, exile and oblivion, ingratitude, torture and death itself in the hope that some portion of a darkened world might be made better through their efforts. To the student who knows what infinite forms of cruelty, brutishness and filthiness belonged to savagery, from Florida to Alaska, it is beyond question that, in spite of sectarian limitations and the shortcomings of individuals, the missionaries have fought a good fight. Where they have failed to accomplish large results the reason lies in the irrepressible selfishness of the white man or in the innate incompetence and unworthiness of the people for whom they labored.

As little attention has been given by State historians to these Mississippi Indian missions, either from a paucity of ready-to-hand facts or lack of sympathetic interest, I feel justified in adding a list of the names of the missionary forces carried upon the roll of the American Board, with the date of service of each.

It should be noted that the closing date of a missionary's

service in Mississippi does not necessarily indicate the termination of his services as a missionary, as he may have served in the West or elsewhere.

As this list is the result of much labor and extended research, the privilege of preserving it on the history pages of Mississippi is especially appreciated.

AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES IN MISSISSIPPI.

Mission to Chickasaws, 1821-1835.

Rev. Thomas C. Stuart, 1821-35.
Mrs. Stuart.
Rev. William C. Blair, 1823-30.
Mrs. Blair.
Rev. Hugh Wilson, 1822-35.
Mrs. Wilson.
Rev. James Holmes, 1824-33.
Mrs. Holmes.

Assistant Missionaries.

Prudence Wilson, 1822-35
Emeline H. Richmond, 1825-33.
Samuel C. Pearson, 1828-29.
Mrs. Pearson.
John L. Mosby, 1831-33.

Mission to Choctaws.

Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, 1818-36.
Mrs. Kingsburg, died 1822, buried at Mayhew.
Rev. Loring Stearns Williams, 1818-32.
Mrs. Williams.
Rev. Joel Wood, 1820-30.
Mrs. Wood.
Rev. Alfred Wright, 1820-30.
Mrs. Wright.
Rev. Cyrus Byington, 1821-35.
Mrs. Byington.
Samuel Moseley, 1823-24.
Mrs. Moseley.
Rev. Harrison Allen, 1830-31.
Mrs. Allen.
Samuel Wisner, 1821-25.
Mrs. Wisner.
Philo Penfield Stewart, 1821-25 and 1827-30.
Mrs. Stewart.
David Remington, 1822-23.
Mrs. Remington.
Anna Burnham, 1822-28.
Anson Gleason, 1823-31.
Mrs. Gleason.
Stephen B. Macomber, 1823-28.
Mrs. Macomber.

David Wright, 1824-28.
Mrs. Wright, died 1826, buried at Mayhew.
Ebenezer Bliss, 1823-30.
David Gage, 1823-32.
Mrs. Gage.
Eliza R. Buer, 1825-30.
Adin O. Gibbs, 1823-24.
Samuel Moulton, 1827-32.
Mrs. Moulton.
Elijah S. Town, 1827-32.
Mrs. Town.
Pamela Skinner, 1827-32.
Nancy Foster, 1829-32.
John Dudley, 1830-31.
Eunice Clough, 1830.
Matthias Joslyn, 1830-32.
Mrs. Joslyn.
Rev. Henry R. Wilson, 1832-36.
Mrs. Wilson.
John R. Agnew, 1835-36.
Ebenezer Hotchkin, 1828-33.
Mrs. Hotchkin (Philena Thacher), 1823-33.
William W. Pride, M. D., 1819-25.
Mrs. Pride, 1821.

ASSISTANT MISSIONARIES.

Peter Kanouse, 1818 (only five week's service).
John G. Kanouse, 1818-19.
Mrs. Kanouse.
Moses Jewell, 1818-30.
Mrs. Jewell.
Aries V. Williams, 1819.
Mrs. Williams, 1819-21.
Isaac Fisk, 1819-20.
Anson Dyer, 1820-28.
Zechariah Howes, 1820-33.
Mrs. Howes (Lucy Hutchinson), 1823.
John Smith, 1821-33.
Mrs. Smith.
Calvin Cushman, 1821-33.
Mrs. Cushman.
Elijah Bardwell, 1821-33.
Mrs. Bardwell.
William Hooper, 1821-28.
Mrs. Hooper, 1823-25.
Mrs. Hooper (Eliza Fairbanks), 1828-31.

GENERAL JACKSON'S MILITARY ROAD.

By William A. Love.[1]

Following the successful issue of the war with England, 1812-15, the United States began at once to increase and develop its manufacturing establishments. The useful lesson was learned by the stoppage of imports, that individual and corporate enterprises must be self-sustaining to be permanently successful. The axiom that "necessity is the mother of invention" was clearly exemplified in the stimulated labor and inventive genius of New England that soon caused its products to rival in quality similar articles hitherto received from abroad, and the profits from these "infant industries" were exceedingly encouraging.

Along with this impetus to domestic manufacture came the spirit of internal improvement. State and national legislation favored increased commercial activities and better facilities for travel and traffic became popular. Various schemes were inaugurated for laying out and building roads and canals. The climax was, perhaps, reached when Congress considered adversely a bill authoriing the construction of a national road from Buffalo, New York, via Washington, D. C., to New Orleans, Louisiana. Its failure, however, was attributed, not to any real objection to the scheme itself, but to the uncertainty as to what congressional district it would pass through.

Of the several government roads in the South, the one contributing in the largest degree to the development of Mississippi as a State was generally known as General Jackson's Military Road.

As to its origin, route, date and manner of construction there is a great diversity of opinion. One of our most careful historians has cleverly said:

As in Italy all great architecture is ascribed to Michael Angelo, so in our Southern States all mounds and fortifications are attributed to DeSoto,

[1] A sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VII, 351, footnote.—Editor.

and all roads to Andrew Jackson. The General has been credited with cutting a highway through Clarke County (Alabama) for his army, another through Choctaw County and even the "Three Chopped Way," when in point of fact he descended the Alabama River in boats. However, worse eponyms could *be chosen than DeSoto and Jackson.*[2]

Unfortunately for the cause of historical accuracy, the same writer, on a preceding page, and elsewhere, adds further confusion to the subject by the statement:

There were other highways in course of time, such as Jackson's Military Road, cut southwardly from the Tennessee River, which was serviceable in subjugating the Creeks.[3]

In reality the Creeks were generally considered subjugated in 1813-14, while Jackson's Military Road was not cut, named and completed until 1817-20.

Mississippi, however, is not one whit behind other Southern States in historical and traditional "Jackson roads." She also has a "Jackson Fort," made of cedar logs and surrounded by entrenchments. Descendants of early settlers point with traditional pride to scarred trees and gullied hillsides as marks and tracks of Jackson's axes and artillery, while historians recount with patriotic pride the prodigious feat of Colonels Coffee and Carroll, who are said to have cut their way through the whole length of the State of Mississippi and to have arrived in the nick of time to save the day for "Old Hickory" on the plains of Chalmette. These and other stories are told by the credulous in wild-eyed amazement, despite the generally accepted historical fact that Coffee marched directly from Pensacola, via Mobile, preceded by Jackson himself, and that Carroll landed his troops from flat-boats on the Mississippi sometimes before the battle.

Although De Soto is somewhat short on mounds and fortifications, his reputed crossing-places on the upper Tombigbee are as numerous almost as the combined bridges and ferries of to-day. The most improbable one, in the light of reason and research, is thus briefly described by our most celebrated historian:

[2] Peter J. Hamilton, in the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society,* II, 51.
[3] Ibid., 150.

DeSoto probably entered the present State of Mississippi at Columbus, (which is ten miles from the Alabama line and immediately on the river), and followed an Indian trail or buffalo path some five miles up to Lincacum's Shoals, just above the mouth of the Tibbee and a little below the present town of Waverly. The Tombigbee here is bifurcated by an island, the first obstruction below Buttahatchie. The gravel discharged from this stream lodged against the island and rendered both channels fordable a great part of the year, and this is the only point where the Spaniards could have forded in December.[4]

What a spectacle! That world renowned expedition, with its indomitable leader ever in the van, "seized with a desire to rival Cortez in glory and Pizarro in wealth," equipped for any and every emergency; able, after great depletion of force and destruction of property, to cross the mighty Mississippi, following a buffalo path through the cane-brake of Buttahatchie Swamp in search of a bifurcation to ford its pigs—and that, too, in December! A careful examintion of the records of the expedition left by its several chroniclers will render futile any attempt to prove that De Soto crossed the Tombigbee within the borders of Lowndes County, and his precautionary policy of keeping on the march successive chiefs or head-men captives until the next town or village was reached insured competent guides over the best and most frequented trails. He was, therefore, never lost, in the sense of not being able to find the right way to well-known crossing-places.

The preposterous idea that early settlers could easily follow the blazes of De Soto would be dispelled by a little study of woodscraft in connection with a simple mathematical calculation —1816—1540=276—and the story of Spanish cannon and horses left in and along the river should also be relegated to the realm of fiction.

Another writer, coming well within the historic period in "Choctaw crossing-places on the Tombigbee," says of "Ten-mile shoals crossing," that the "present name is derived from the fact that the shoals are ten miles from Columbus, Mississippi."[5] A personal examination or casual inquiry would have

[4] Claiborne's *Mississippi*, 5.
[5] H. S. Halbert in the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, I, 431.

developed the real fact that there are ten miles of shoals, over which doubtless the wild waters rippled in pre-Columbian times, and that the name is descriptive of their length and has no reference to their geographical position or distance from any other place.

Thus is the path of history barricaded with inconsequent deductions and inaccurate statements around which the investigating traveler must make his slow and devious way, if he would reach the goal of authentic knowledge in matters historical.

There was, however, a real Jackson Military Road despite the fact that it was not serviceable in subjugating the Creeks in fighting the battle of New Orleans or in any other active military operations in the Southwest. It served its purpose and finally gave way to greater improvements, just as the stage-coach of Sam Houston and the knife of Jim Bowie were succeeded by railroads, steamboats, and the death-dealing improved pistol.

In the absence of documentary information pertaining to the genesis of this road, viz.: the grant of the right-of-way through the Choctaw Nation and the report of the topographical engineer who made the survey, it would be well to direct attention first to the means employed in its construction.

The first data obtainable are found in the following communication:

War Department,
September 24, 1816.

Sir,—An appropriation of ten thousand dollars was made during the last session of Congress for repairing and keeping in repair a road from Columbia, in Tennessee, to Madisonville, in Louisiana, and another road from Georgia to Fort Stoddart. Half of this sum will be expended upon the first road. I have received no information of the length of this road, the nature of the country through which it passess, or its present state.

If there are many bridges to be erected the appropriation will be inadequate to the object. In that event the employment of a part of the troops may become necessary.

All the information which you possess upon the subject will be acceptable to the department. If more is necessary to be obtained to enable you to furnish what is necessary to the due execution of the law in question, as little time should be lost in collecting it as possible.

The necessary instructions will be given as soon as the information required shall be transmitted.

I have the honor, etc.,

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

MAJOR GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,
Nashville, Tennessee.[6]

The legislation referred to is embodied in an act which made appropriations for repairing certain roads therein described, to-wit:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the sum of ten thousand dollars be and are hereby appropriated, and payable out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated for the purpose of repairing and keeping in repair the road between Columbia, on Duck River, in the State of Tennessee, and Madisonville, in the State of Louisiana, by the Choctaw Agency, and also the road between Fort Hawkins, in the State of Georgia, and Fort Stoddard, under the direction of the Secretary of War.[7]

Approved, April 27, 1816.

To avoid possible confusion in certain quarters regarding the Choctaw Agency, above mentioned, it may not be out of place to say in this connection that the Choctaw Nation was divided into three districts, each independent in governmental affairs, except in matters of national import, in which case they acted unitedly, or as a whole. There was established, for the sake of convenience, at least one agency in each district at which the Indians received their government annuities and transacted other tribal business.

In view of the very meager official data obtainable from the Department at Washington, the following extracts from letters relating to the "Jackson Road" have been taken from the Jackson papers in the Library of Congress:

Under date of March 14, 1817, H. Young announces the completion of the first part of his labor; describes the line he has run; mentions the results of his examination of the country for road route; tells of the suffering caused by calumnies; and says that he will report after his return to Nashville.

---

[6] *American State Papers; Military Affairs,* IV, 627.

[7] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. 3, Fourteenth Congress, First Session, Chapter 112.

On April 25, 1817, he gives a condensed account of his operations sent previously; on chance of miscarriage of letters writes again, giving substance of account mentioned; gives position of line of road; describes character of country and enumerates difficulties.

J. Gadsden writes to Jackson, May 8, 1817,[8] that Captain H. Young awaits orders, and mentions the difficulty in making a good road west of the Tombigbee.

On June 7, 1817, Captain Young writes that he has commenced his last survey of the road, and that a detachment is awaiting tools and supplies; adds that cutting will begin in about ten days, and that instructions have been made out. He expresses solicitude for the completion of the road and wishes to stay with the detachment.

The apprehension of the Secretary of War that "If there are many bridges to be erected the appropriation ($10,000) will be inadequate to the object" was well founded, as will be seen from the following act of Congress:

An act in addition to "An act making appropriation for repairing certain roads therein described."

* * * * * * *

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, for the purpose of repairing and keeping in repair that part of the road leading from Columbia, in the State of Tennessee, by the Choctaw Agency, to Madisonville, in the State of Louisiana, which lies between the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee and the Indian boundary line, near Zadock Brashears, in the State of Mississippi, which sums shall be expended under the direction of the Secretary for the Department of War.

Approved March 27, 1818.[9]

On March 8, 1819, Major Perrin Willis was ordered by General Ripley, commanding the Eighth Military District, to repair to the military and supervise the work on southern end of the road till it is finished.

---

[8] This letter is endorsed as answered May 23d, but the answer is not found among the Jackson papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

[9] *U. S. Statues at Large,* Vol. 3, Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Chapter 24.

On June 14, 1819, Major Willis reported to General Jackson that he assumed this duty on April 5th; found that it had been carried as far as "the line of demarcation"—1½ miles south of it. He speaks of the road as running parallel and contiguous to Pearl River, and says he has worked on it sixty days and carried it ten miles. He adds that ordinarily its width was thirty-five feet; in swampy places it had a causeway, twenty-one feet wide. He was then working a force of about fifty effective men. The road ran from the Pearl River to the Lakes.[10]

On July 22, 1819, George Poindexter wrote to General Jackson to urge that this road pass through Columbia (Mississippi) instead and three and one-half miles below it.

Lieut. James Scallan, of the First Regiment, United States Infantry, to General Jackson, under date, "Garrison, Baton Rouge, October 2, 1820," reports as follows on that part of the Military Road between Leaf River and the northern extremity in Tennessee:

> There has been expended on it 75,801 days labor in three years' service by troops of the First and Eighth Infantry and a detachment of the corps of artillery, to-wit: between its commencement on the 1st of June, 1817, and its completion towards the close of May, 1820.

To this brief and disjointed contribution on the history of the road is added a pertinent extract from an article in the *Louisiana Advertiser*, which was reproduced by the *Tuscumbian*, of Tuscumbia, Alabama, November 12, 1824. Under the caption, "The Jackson, or Military Road," the writer says:

> This road, leading from Madisonville to Nashville, was projected by General Jackson, commenced in May, 1817, and completed at immense labor and expense in May, 1820, by troops of the United States. The line was run by a distinguished officer of Topographical Engineers, and the result of survey made since its completion denotes its course N. 35. E., distance by actual measurement 436 miles, which adding thirty miles hence to Madisonville, gives 516 miles as the distance between New Orleans and Nashville, being a shorter cut by 208 miles than the old route through Natchez. No deviation was made from the direct line, except to gain preferable ground, whenever the distance would not be materially increased thereby.
>
> There were on an average 300 men continuously employed on the work, including sawyers, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., who were amply fur-

[10] Endorsement on the back speaks of the road as the "Jackson Road."

nished with oxen, traveling forges, and all tools and implements necessary to its perfect execution. Thirty-five neat and substantial bridges, each measuring from 60 to 200 feet were erected, and 20,000 feet of causeway laid. On a calculation of the pay, provisions and clothing of the soldiery thus engaged, and making a moderate allowance for the deterioration and loss of public property, we find that the general government disbursed on the occasion at least three hundred thousand dollars.

The causeways were laid over all marshy spots by placing small timber close together and in a latitudinal direction to the road; ditches, three feet deep and four feet wide, were cut on each side of the causeways, and the earth strewed over the timber. A few days' exposure to the sun made these passes equally firm as the most elevated parts of the road.

Of this work there are forty-five miles within the State of Louisiana, about seventy in mississippi, 120 in the Choctaw Nation, and the remainder in Alabama and Tennessee. It is forty feet wide throughout, exclusive of the space allotted to receive the fallen trees, which, being cut into convenient lengths, were rolled to either side. The axe was applied as near to ground as practicable, and directed so as to leave the upper part of the stumps concave, thereby accelerating their decay by retaining rain and moisture.

Strange as it will appear, this stupendous undertaking, which reflects honor on its prompt and indefatigable projector, was begun and completed without any arrangement or understanding being made between the Supreme Executive and the States through which it passes, as to its preservation or repair. The consequence is, that between Benya River and the town of Columbia, on Tombigbee River, a distance, perhaps, of 150 miles, is impassable for wheel carriages, the whole distance being covered with a thick second growth; the causeways destroyed, bridges dilapidated, and trees fallen across, thus rendering its intended usefulness worse than useless.

* * * * * * * * *

It would exceed the limits of a paragraph to attempt an outline of the immense advantages which are now nearly lost, but which were fairly anticipated from the road at its commencement. If put in a state of repair (and it is susceptible of it at a trifling expense) it will add greatly to our convenience, wealth, and safety * * *

Roads have ever been marked objects of ancient and modern legislation. In other countries they have been but too often intended as the war-paths of conquest. In ours they can facilitate intercourse, and secure union.[11]

Supplementary to the foregoing concise sketch, a more detailed statement is given of the location of this important road in reference to certain counties of Mississippi as they are at present organized. On La Tourette's beautiful map[12] of Mississippi (1839) it is plainly marked throughout the State as

[11] Courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[12] The two parallel lines drawn from Madisonville, Louisiana, to the Tennessee River (see map in Riley's *Mississippi History*), do not represent the line of road as constructed. Their terminals only are correct. The deflections are many and of various distances.

"General Jackson's Military Road." With this map as a guide the route may be traced on a more recent map of the State, as follows:

Entering the State at a point on Pearl River, twenty miles, more or less, west of Poplarville, the direction is northeast, crossing in succession the Counties of Pearl River, Marion, Jones, Jasper, Newton, Kemper, Noxubee and Lowndes, and passing into Alabama from the northeast corner of the last-named county. From this point back to Columbus the road bears its original name, and is practically on the same line to-day. This statement probably applies also to the road through Alabama to its northern terminus. But in the Choctaw lands, which did not come under State control until 1830, the exact route in some localities has been obliterated. Particularly does this apply to the Horse Hunter's prairie in the northeastern part of Noxubee County.

A more minute description of that part of the road which runs through Lowndes County is here given to illustrate how its exact location may be traced through other counties.

It struck the southern boundary of Lowndes County at the very terminus of the line dividing sections 32 and 33, Township 17, Range 17 east, on the Blewitt Pee Dee plantation. Thence it ran very little west of north for three miles, across the eastern border of sections 32, 29 and 20. Then turning northeast it crossed the southeast corner of section 17 into section 16. Continuing in a northeasterly direction, it struck the northern line of sections 16 a short distance east of the middle of this line into section 9, thence very little east of north to where it struck the northern line of this section, at a point about one-third of this line coming from the east; thence east of north across section 4, which is struck in its northeastern corner; thence nearly north across the southeastern corner of section 33, Township 18, Range 17 east, it enters section 34 and passes into section 27 about 200 yards from their western line; thence into section 22 about 400 yards from its western line; thence along its western border to section 15, entering it about 500 yards from its western line; thence northeasterly to the center

of the northern line of section 15, and there it entered section 10. Turning east, its course was along the lower border of section 11 to about one-third of its way into section 12; thence turned northeast and entered section 1, striking the line dividing sections 12 and 1 at a point about 400 yards from their eastern line and passing out of section 1, 400 yards below its northeastern corner enters section 6, Township 18, Range 18, enters section 6; thence running northeast enters section 31 about 600 yards east of its southwest corner; continuing northeast, enters section 30 and reaches its southwest corner, continues northeast across section 29, leaving it about 400 yards west of its northeast corner; crossing the Tombigbee River, it enters section 17, Township 18 south, Range 18 west, thence into section 16 about 400 yards north of southwest corner of section 17, entering the City of Columbus by way of Military Street, now Second Avenue north.

It should be noted here that in crossing the Tombigbee River the road passes from the Choctaw Survey of 1832, whose townships run north and ranges east, to the Alabama Survey of 1820 on the east of the river, with townships numbered south and ranges west from the Huntsville Meridian; and that the township and section lines of the Choctaw Survey strike the river just one mile north of corresponding lines on the east side.

The titles of the Indian lands east of the river having been extinguished by the Choctaw cession of 1816, the working force on the road came in touch with white settlers at Columbus for the first time after leaving the northern boundary of Mississippi territory.

Tradition is authority for the statement that a work camp was established at Chief Mashulitubbee's Prairie Village, now in northern Noxubee County, another at Columbus, and still another on Howard's Creek, about ten miles northeast of Columbus, at which latter place a soldier died and was buried.

Leaving Columbus, which is in a sixteenth section, the road enters section 9 about 500 yards west of its southeast corner, and going northeast it passes out about the middle of the section's eastern line into section 10. Continuing northeast, it

enters section 3 about the middle of its southern line and passes into section 2 about 500 yards north of its southwest corner; thence it enters section 35 about a quarter, 440 yards, from its southwest corner, passing into section 36 about the middle of the line dividing them; thence northeast into section 25 about 600 yards from its southwest corner; thence into section 30; thence into section 19, about 400 yards from the southeast corner. It then crosses the extreme southeastern corner of section 18 into section 17; thence into 5, 300 yards from its southeastern corner, thence into section 4, about the center of the line dividing them; then it enters section 33, about 300 yards from its southwest corner, passing out into section 34, 400 yards south of the northeast corner of section 33, thence into section 27, 400 yards from its southwest corner; enters section 26, 600 yards below the northwest corner; enters section 23 about the center of its south line and about the center of the line dividing sections 23 and 24, thence into section 13 about 600 yards from its southwest corner and, continuing northeast, crosses the Alabama line in the southeast quarter of the section about 300 yards west and 600 yards north of its southeast corner.

Of this territory lying east of the Tombigbee River, a small part of which is included in the boundaries of Mississippi, some observations may, with propriety, be here made, although not bearing directly on the subject under consideration.

On a "chart of the sources of the Mobile and of the River Yazoo" (1796),[13] all the lands between the Tuscaloosa, or Black Warrior, and the Tombigbee Rivers is marked *"Country quite uninhabited."*

While this may be a strictly accurate statement, the date considered, the inference should not follow that it was never inhabited, but rather that it was partially, if not completely, depopulated in 1796. At what time and why this occurred, the answers can be only conjectural. Certainly it was inhabited in 1540 when De Soto passed directly through its western extremity, and Bernard Romans in 1771 saw, or thought he saw, a

[13] Riley's *School History of Mississippi* (1900), 82.

Creek war party cross the Tombigbee near Columbus from the east "on mischief bent."

Whether then the country was inhabited or uninhabited, neutral or contested, the fact remains that throughout its area the archeological evidences prove conclusively that it was at some period thickly populated. Particularly does this apply to the highlands bordering the river which runs through its center.

Reverting to the Choctaw cession of 1816, it may be interesting to note that on September 20, 1816, the Chickasaws relinquished by treaty to the United States all claim to territory south of the Tennessee River and down the Tombigbee to the Choctaw boundary, except a few special reservations for the Colberts, one tract for use of Appassantubbee and heirs and one to John Melish.

On October 24, 1816, the Choctaws ceded to the United States all their claim to lands lying east of the following boundaries: Beginning at the mouth of Ocktibbuha, the Chickasaw boundary, and running from thence down the Tombigbee until it interesects the northern boundary of a cession made the United States by the Choctaws, at Mount Dexter, November 16, 1805.[14]

Oktibbeha Creek, as is well known, was the western boundary between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, but on the east of the Tombigbee River the line was an imaginary one, and immaterial so far as the United States was concerned, its occupancy of both sides being practically at the same time. But the Indians doubtless understood it thoroughly. With no compass as a guide, the designations were generally water-courses, well known trails and even ridges with their variations as division lines. Though not altogether accurate, they were in the main satisfactory. So, any Chickasaw or Choctaw claiming land in the vicinity of Columbus, east of the river, after 1816, other than by purchase from the United States, would have rightfully been considered an intruder, there being no reservations under which either of them could have established ownership except those named.

[14] *Indian Land Cessions*, Eighteen Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology.

There is a singular omission in our State histories of this Choctaw cession above quoted, which, together with the erroneous statements regarding the boundaries of the Chickasaw cession, have caused endless discussions among the informed and misinformed on the subject. Future historians and cession map-makers should be more alert and diligent in the cause of historical accuracy. One hundred years is long enough for an error to go unchallenged when refutation is so easily at hand.

After the completion of General Jackson's Road it, doubtless, received a large share of travel, which, in view of its excellent condition, the date considered, and the wide publicity given it, must have been immense. In the absence of any reliable data in this connection, attention is directed to the Postoffice Department as a source of information, for mail routes are, as a rule, fair indexes to good roads, thickly-settled communities and business activities. The first office established on the road in Mississippi was at Columbus, March 6, 1820, with Thomas Sampson as Postmaster, but additional information as to when business began, and whether or not this place was a wayside or terminal office, it is now impossible to obtain, since the records of the department for that period are somewhat incomplete, owing to the destruction of a greater portion by fire in the year 1836. But from official data prior to the establishment of the Columbus office, it is now impossible to obtain, since the records of the ment, it follows as a reasonable conclusion that the route at a later date was deflected there from the Military to the Robinson Road. Corroborating this view the following is given:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
February, 4, 1825.

Sir,—In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, which directed the Postmaster General to report to the Senate "the amount which, in his opinion, it will be necessary to appropriate to render the post road, passing through the Indian country, between Columbus and Jackson, in the State of Mississippi, fit for the transportation of the mail from the City of Washington to Natchez and New Orleans, in covered carriages or stages," I have the honor to state, that an expenditure of ten thousand dollars, it is believed, would prepare that part of the above mail route, which is within the Indian country, for the passage of stages.

This estimate is made, in part, from the data furnished the depart-

ment, by the person who has lately made repairs upon this road, under an appropriation of Congress, and who is well acquainted with every part of it.

I have the honor to be,
Respectfully, your
Obedient servant,
JOHN MCLEAN.

HON. JOHN GAILLARD,
President P. T. of the Senate.[15]

An unofficial source is authority for the statement that about 1822-3 the mail route over the "Natchez Trace," supposedly so, though mail contracts do not state the roads over which they are to be carried, was changed to the Military Road.[16] Strengthening the statement already given regarding the comparative distance from Nashville to New Orleans over the two roads, the following extract is here reproduced from a departmental advertisement, issued January 20, 1818, inviting proposals for service for four years, commencing January 1, 1819:

[Route] 238. From Nashville by Franklin, Columbia, Keg Spring, Mount Pleasant, Fishing Ford, Big Spring, Bear Creek, the Factors and McIntoshville, to Chickasaw Postoffice, estimated at 248 miles, three times a week.

[Route] 239. From Chickasaw Postoffice, Chocktaw Agency, Red Bluff, Grindstone Ford, Port Gibson, Trimble's, Greenville, Huntstown, Union and Washington, to Natchez, 274 miles, three times a week.

[Route] 248. From Natchez, by Swansville, Woodville, Pinckneyville, Webb's, St. Francisville, Thompson's Creek, St. John's, Plains, Baton Rouge, Manchack, Blanchardsville, Godberry's and Butler's to New Orleans, three times a week, 214 miles.[17]

It is a reasonable assumption then, with the removal of the State Capital to Jackson, together with the impared condition of the Military Road south of Columbus, that the bulk of travel, if not the mail, was diverted from it and the Natchez Trace to this central, or Robinson, road-route to Jackson. In support of this view, both stage and telegraph lines were established over it, the office of the latter at Columbus, 1845, being perhaps the first in the State. Positive evidence of the early existence

[15] Printed by order of the Senate of the United States February 7, 1825.
[16] Statement of Rev. T. C. Stuart, missionary to Chickasaws, 1820-1834.
[17] Furnished by Acting Second Assistant Postmaster General.

of such a line is found in the occasional discovery by axmen of insulators imbedded in the fallen trees along the route.

Efforts have been made to secure data concerning the "Robinson Road," which seems to have grown in public favor and to have been patronized at the expense of the Military Road south of Columbus. From that place to Nashville the road bears its original name and is practically intact.

The following extract is taken from W. T. Lewis's "Centennial History of Winston County":

> As soon as the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was entered into, crowds of land-hunters and speculators flocked into the Choctaw Nation. At this time there was but one public road through Winston County which was known as the Robinson Road from the fact that it had been opened by a man of that name, who was employed by the government to open said road from Columbus to Jackson in 1824 or 1825 and for which he received $8,000.

In concluding this brief and somewhat controversial paper, apology is made for the oft-repeated compromises of historic dignity in treating of matters that are apparently trivial, but as the historian's highest aim should be accuracy, and history in the main is but the assembling and presentation of minor facts which serve to make up the whole and to give it the stamp of authenticity and permanency, the offense may at least be in part excusable. As the preacher excoriates sin, not the sinner, so the true historian's efforts should be to combat errors, great and small, while entertaining the kindliest feelings for and appreciation of the high attainments of the erroists. Although no one realizes more fully the shortcomings and imperfections of this paper than does the writer, he hopes that at least the site of Jackson's Military Road has been located and some accumulated rubbish removed. May the time not be far distant when this noted old highway may be reopened and rehabilitated and serve coming generations as a great thoroughfare connecting the Lakes and the Gulf.

INDEX.

A

Acre, J. C., 313.
Ackers, J. M., Circuit Judge, 99, 106, 143.
Adams, 40.
Agricultural Statistics for Lawrence County, 202.
Agricultural Statistics, Leake County, 292.
Agricultural Statistics for Monroe County, 159.
Agricultural Statistics, Newton County, 226.
Agricultural Statistics, Pontotoc County, 268.
Albritton, J. A., 314.
Alcorn, Governor, 172, 186, 200, 242, 303, 305, 313.
Alexander, Dr. Henry,, 127.
Allen, Ben, 285.
Allen, C. C., 273.
Allen, James, 359.
Allen, Jno., 175, 181.
Allen, H. O., 299.
Allen, Mrs. Sarah A., 138.
Allen, Peggy, 359.
Allen, W. B., 278, 279, 281.
Ames, Governor, 108, 116, 155, 176, 177, 241, 242, 274, 297, 298, 305.
American Board Missionaries in Miss., 401, 402.
Anderson, J. C. 124.
Anderson, J. H., 110, 113, 115, 124. 147.
Anderson, Jno. W., 313.
Anderson, Hon. A. C., 9.
Anderson, S. G., 124.
Anderson, W. H., 299.
Antebellum Times in Monroe County, 87-102.
Assessed Valuation, etc., Pontotoc County, 268.
Assessed Valuation, Taxation and Indebtedness of Monroe County, 160.
Aranda, Count, 41.
Atkins, Ab, 130.
Atkins, Joseph, 133.
Aycock, Jim, 250.

B

Baggett, W. P., 199.
Baker, 88.
Baker, T. W., 107, 157.
Baker, W. E., 256.
Bain, Roberts, 273, 290.
Baldwin, Joseph G., 393.
Balls, 230.
Ballord, Dr. H. N., 298, 301, 303.
Balton, I. L., 208.
Bankhead, Capt., 145.
Barker, 97.
Barker, B. B., 107, 157.
Barksdale, E., 307.
Barker, I. I., 220.
Barr, Sawney, 256, 257.
Barry, E. H., 209, 212, 213, 215.
Barry, F. C., 115, 143.
Barry, Mr. F. G., 123.
Bateman, C. D., 255.
Battle, W. B., 305, 314.
Beall, 114.
Beal, Reuben, 200.
Beamans, 272.
Beattie, E. D., 213, 214.
Beauchamp, D. C., 276, 290.
Beauchamp, Clint, 276.
Beck, Captain, 137.
Beck, Colonel, 145, 149.
Beckett, Dr. James McKinney, 87.
Beckett, N. J., 99, 102.
Beckett, R. C., 87, 115, 120, 123, 137, 143.
Beeks, D. A., 118, 135.
Beginning of a New Period in Mississiippi, 317.
Bell, 230.
Bell, W. E., 113.
Bell, W. W., 235, 241, 245.
Bennett, Dr. J. W., 177, 197.
Benson, Mrs. Martha, 252.
Benton, A. H., 199, 200.
Bilbo, A. H., 276, 290.
Bilbo, G. A., 199.
Bilbo, Wm., 276, 290.
Bingham, 230.
Bishop, 97.
Blakeleys, 206.

Black, Mr., 258.
Blackburn, Rev., 254, 367.
Blackman, 305.
Blackman, H. C., 131, 132.
Blelacks, 206.
Block, Morris P., 199.
Blount, Gov., 56.
Blythe, G. L., 306.
Board of Police, DeSoto County, 312.
Board of Police, etc., Leake County, 290.
Bolton, 230.
Bolton, J. C., 255.
Boon, W. J. A., 299.
Boozer, Dr. J. D., 173, 180, 191, 199.
Boswell, Mr. J. J., 190.
Bouldin, E., 313, 314.
Bounds, R. D., 214.
Bounds, G. W., 214.
Bowen, Jno., 241.
Bowen, J. W., 263.
Bowie, Jim, 406.
Bowles, C. F., 263.
Bowman and Clopton, 96.
Boyett, A. J., 290.
Bozeman, Hamp., 192.
Bradford, 230.
Bradford, Adam, 109.
Bradford, Gen., 88.
Bradford, Judge, 234.
Bradford, Henry, 102.
Bradford, Maj. Gen. Jno. C., 232.
Brady, M. G., 305.
Brandon, Thos., 100.
Branson, Tom, 284.
Brassfield, Joe, 94.
Brewer, Jesse, 290.
Brewer, W. C., 290.
Bristow, Mr. E. H., 144.
Brock, Captain, 145.
Bridgeforth, T. O., 313, 314.
Brooks, Arthur, 124.
Brook, Hon. Walker, 332.
Brown, 200.
Brown, A. J., 222.
Brown, Jno. L., 305, 306.
Brownlow, Mil. Gov., 338.
Brown, Morris, 175, 180, 199.
Brown, W. P., 306.
Browning, Elisha, 243.
Broyle, Dr. 148.
Bruce, B. K., 234.
Brunson, Prof. George H., 9, 317.
Bryson, James, 305.
Buchanan, G. J., 99.
Buckley, Ben, 194.
Buckley, Bright, 189.
Buckley, Judge J. C., 179.
Buckley, J. M., 187.
Buckley, Noel S., 199.
Bumpass, Mr., 90.
Burdine, J. C., 147.
Burney, Simon, 359.
Burnett, Lucallus, 102.
Burton, 208.
Burton, J. M., 240, 263.
Butler, W. H., 169, 180, 199, 200.
Butler, J. M., 199.
Butler, Santee, 133.
Butler, Mr., 134, 136.
Byington, Mr., 373, 376, 391, 396.
Byrd, H. J., 200.
Byrne, R. O., 174, 191, 195.
Byrne, Pete, 195.
Bynum, B. D. C., 299.
Bynum, W. J., 299, 313, 314.

C

Cadenhead, D. F., 278, 279, 290.
Caffey, T. Y., 306.
Caldwell, 286.
Caldwells, 230.
Caldwell, Charlie, 221.
Caldwell, G. G., 305.
Caldwell, T. R., 109, 157.
Calhoon, Judge S. S., Sketch of, 15.
Campaign Methods, Pontotoc County, 236.
Campaigns and Elections, DeSoto County, 299.
Campbell, Judge, 183.
Campbell, Judge J. A. P., 282.
Campbell, J. H., 215.
Campbell, J. N., 297, 298, 305.
Campbell, M., 303, 305, 307.
Campbell, N. W., 306.
Canfield, Orlando, 325, 326.
Cantrell, Jeff., 149.
Cannon, J. F., 199.
Carleton, Eugene, 210, 215, 219, 220.
Carlisle, Adam, 100.
Carlisle, Editor Louis T., 91.
Carlisle, Henry, 100.
Carmichael, Mr., 47, 48, 49.
Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, DeSoto County, 296.

Carr, 230.
Carr, O. C., 243.
Carroll, Col., 404.
Carrol, Mrs. A. A., 256.
Carson, J. T., 96.
Carrington, G. P., 303.
Carter, F. D., 146.
Caruthers, Jno. P., 298, 301.
Cassady, J. Hiram, 200.
Castello, Maj. E., 186.
Cato, Joel, 273.
Chamberlain, Rev. Wm., 379.
Chambliss, B. R., 306.
Chambliss, Mr., 116.
Chalmers, Ham H., 296, 300, 303, 305, 306.
Chalmers, Jas. R., 296, 305.
Chapmans, 206.
Charles, George, 175, 181, 199, 200.
Chase, Miss, 373.
Cheatham, Gen. Frank, 338.
Cheek, Geo., 218.
Cheney, John, 242, 263.
Chisholm, Frank H., 254, 258.
Chocchuma Village in East Miss., French Trading Post, 325.
Halbert, H. S., 325.
Pitchlyn, Maj. Jno., 325, 327.
Howell, Calvin, 325.
Canfield, Orlando, 325, 326.
Davion, Father, 326.
Chrisman, Judge J. B., 171, 183.
Church Statistics for Lawrence County, 204.
Church Statistics of Monroe County, 161.
Church Statistics, Newton County, 227.
Churches in Pontotoc County, 269.
Claiborne, Gov., 356, 367.
Clapp, J. W., 305.
Clarke, 230.
Clarke, Dr. W. B., 251.
Clarke, George Rogers, 54, 56.
Clarke, Gov. Charles, 259.
Clarke, Mrs. W. B., 252.
Clarks, 206.
Clay, Mr., 53.
Clayton, A. M., 299.
Clopton, Billy, 150.
Clopton, W. H., Sr., 115, 143.
Cloptons, 97.
Clover, Frank A., 176, 177, 180, 191, 199.
Cochran, Anderson, 256.
Cochran, A. J., 256.
Cocke, J. H., 306, 313, 314.
Coffee, Col., 404.
Coffee, Mary F., 256.
Colbert, 358.
Colbert, Susie, 359.
Colbert, Wm., 359.
Colberts, 414.
Cole, A. F., 313.
Cole, Sarah, 250.
Cole, W. T., 306.
Coleman, Geo., 147, 148, 150.
Colums, Harry, 252.
Combs, J. W., 256, 263.
Committee on Necrology, Report of, 10, 14.
Committee on Nomination, Report of, 11.
Committee on Resolutions, Report, of, 11.
Conkey, Prof., 250.
Contributions, List of, 9, 10.
Cooke, R. F., 299.
Cooper, 100.
Cooper, Cunningham, 102.
Cooper, Rev. David, 355.
Cooper, Thos. L., 290.
Coopwood, Mr. Wash, 93.
Coopwood, Thomas, 99, 102.
Cope, Ike, 180.
Cope, Lieut F. R., 240.
Corse, Gen. Jno. M., 335.
Cotton, A. H., 290.
Cotton, Bill, 275.
Count Aranda, 41.
Count Florida de Blanca, 37, 41.
County Government, Monroe County, 107.
County Histories of Reconstruction, Importance of, 12.
County Officers, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 199.
Cowart, E. O., 175, 195, 200.
Cowart, J. N., 199.
Cox, A. O., 199.
Cox, J. R., 199.
Crabb, B. P., 290.
Crame, Rev. Dr., 395.
Crane, Chas. A., 274, 290.
Crawford, 96.
Crenshaw, David, 157.
Crenshaw, Jones, 125.
Crowe, Jim., 150.
Crump, Sharper, 125.
Crump, Turner, 125.

Culberson, J. C., 314.
Cummings, Mason, 99.
Cunningham, 283.
Curr, Dr., 253.
Cushman, Calvin, 373, 379, 381.

D

Daggetts, 230.
Dale, H. H., 199.
Dale, Rev. Steve W., 166, 182.
Dalrymple, A. E., 115, 155.
Daily, Josiah, 309, 314.
Dalton, Dr., R. H., 93.
Dandridge, 230.
Dandridge, Nathan, 254.
Dansky, 100
Dansky, J. P., 208.
Darby, Dr., 337.
Davidsons, 206.
Davion, Father, 326.
Davis, 319.
Davis, Felix, 305, 313.
Davis, Jefferson, 355.
Davis, John, 99.
Davis, Joseph, 355.
Davis, Reuben, Congressman, 99, 106.
Day, Polly, 258.
Dean, Major R. A., 9.
Dearing, T., 208.
Deen, Wm. W., 199.
Demarcation of the Mississippi-Louisiana Boundary from Mouth of Pearl River to Gulf of Mexico, 61-74.
Denis, D. A., 216, 217.
Denis, E. R., 216, 217.
Denson, J. N., 290.
Dent, 200.
Dent, Grammes, 127.
Dent, Jack, 254, 258.
Dent, Louis, 303.
DeSoto County, Reconstruction in, 295.
Acree, J. C., 313.
Albritton, J. A., 314.
Alcorn, Gov., 303, 305, 313.
Allen, H. O., 299.
Ames, Gov., 297, 298, 305.
Anderson, Jno. W., 313.
Anderson, W. H., 299.
Appendix A, 313 .
Appendix B, 314.
Appendix C, 315.
Appendix D, 316.
Ballard, Dr. H. N., 298, 301, 303.
Battle, W. B., 305, 314.
Barksdale, E., 307.
Blackman, 305.
Blythe, G. L., 306.
Brady, M. G. 305.
Board of Police, 313.
Boon, W. J. A., 299.
Bouldin, E., 313, 314.
Brewer, Jno. L., 305, 306.
Bridgeforth, T. O., 313, 314.
Brown, W. P., 306.
Bryson, James, 305.
Bynum, B. D. C., 299.
Bynum, W. J., 299, 313, 314.
Caffey, T. Y., 306.
Caldwell, G. G., 305.
Campaigns and Elections, 299.
Campbell, J. N. 297, 298, 305.
Campbell, M., 303, 305, 307.
Campbell, N. W., 306.
Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, 296.
Carrington, G. P., 303.
Caruthers, Jno. P., 298, 301.
Chalmers, Ham. H., 296, 300, 303. 305, 306.
Chalmers, Jas. R., 296, 305. 296.
Chambliss, B. R., 306.
Clapp, J. W., 305.
Clayton, A. M., 299.
Cocke, J. H., 305, 313, 314.
Cole, A. F., 313.
Cole, W. T., 306.
Cooke, R. F., 299.
Culberson, J. C., 314.
Daily, Josiah, 309, 314.
Davis, Felix, 305, 313.
Dent, Louis, 303.
DeSoto, Hernando, 295.
Dickson, Ab, 298, 310.
Dockery, Dr. H., 299, 312.
Dockery, T. C., 303.
Doggett, Asa B., 305.
Doggett, R. E., 299, 307.
Dye, W. R., 306.
Eavenson, T. M., 299.
Echols, Larkin, 303.
Economic Conditions, 311.
Evans, J. J., 307, 314.
Everett, Jno., 312.
Farmer, J. W., 299.
Featherston, W. S., 307.

Fraudulent Contracts, 308.
Freedmen's Bureau, 310.
Freeman, J. D., 300.
Gathright, T. S., 303.
Gibbs, W. H., 300.
Gillespie, C., 299, 305.
Grant, 306, 308.
Hall, J. G., 307.
Hall, J. S. Jr., 305.
Hall, Hiram, 305, 306.
Halloway, I. G., 305, 306.
Hancock, Jno. A., 299.
Harris, G. E., 299, 303, 305, 307.
Hill, Francis, 306, 313.
Holmes, Finley, 299.
Hooker, E. C., 300.
Howse, Albert R., 307.
Howse, L., 306.
Hull, Dabney, 299.
Huddleston, A. W., 306.
Humphreys, B. G., 300.
Hunt, Geo., 306.
Hurlburt, 309.
Jeffars, E., 303.
Jeffries, J. G., 299.
Johnson, J. H., 305.
Johnson, Sam, 305.
Johnson, T. H., 306.
Johnson, W. H., 299, 312, 313.
Jones, C. R., 314.
Jones, Jno. S., 299, 306.
Jones, L. L., 310.
Ku Klux Klan, 310.
Labauve, Felix, 296, 300, 305. 311, 312.
Lamar, L. Q. C., 308.
Lewis, P., 299.
Lindley, Joseph, 305.
Lipsey, E. J., 298, 300, 301.
Love, W. K., 299.
Lowry, Robt., 303, 305.
Lucas, J. H., 314.
Lynch, James, 305.
Manning, Van H., 307, 308.
Marshall, C. A., 305, 306.
Mason, George W., 313.
Matthews, E., 299, 305.
McCain, Thos., 305.
McCall, J. W., 314.
McCargo, W. H., 299, 306.
McCracken, J. P., 299, 306, 313.
McClay, Joseph, 303.
McCorkle, R. W., 314.
McKenney, Peter, 313.
McKenzie, Donald, 314.
Meriweather, C. S., 299.
Merriweather, V., 299.
Miller, R. L., 305.
Miller, P., 312.
Mitchell, Lewis, 305.
Morgan, Jas. Bright, 296, 300, 305. 306, 307, 308, 312.
Morris, J. S., 305.
Myers, P. S., 300.
Nesbit, J. G., 299.
Nesbit, R. D., 305.
Nesbit, W. T., 306.
Newsom, Sowell, 305, 313, 314.
Nichols, Irby C., 295.
Nichols, J. D., 307.
Oliver, Elbert, 305.
Oliver, J. S., 299.
Oliver, Wm., 298.
Oliver, W. R., 306, 313.
Ord, Gen. E. O., 314.
Ozone, U., 307.
Party Strength, Registration and Population, 316.
Perkins, G. W., 299.
Pickle, James, 308.
Powell, S., 306, 307.
Powers, A. F., 313.
Powers, R. C., 305.
Pullin, J. P., 299.
Raines, Samuel, 299, 313.
Rankin, John, 300, 305.
Rayner, Kenneth, 305, 306.
Razell, Y. P., 299.
Reynolds, W. L., 299.
Richardson, H., 306.
Robertson, Chas., 299.
Robertson, C. H., 305.
Robertson, Jno., 306.
Rogers, Joseph, 297, 312, 314.
Sandidge, A. G., 305.
Sandidge, J. O., 303.
Scott, Jno. A., 313, 314.
Shands, G. D., 296, 305, 306, 308.
Sharkey, W. T., 299.
Sheriffs, 314.
Side, J. W., 314.
Sinclair, Thos., 303.
Smith, A. W., 299, 305, 313.
Stevens, J. A., 299.
Stokes, A. W., 309, 312.
Strictland, Pat., 306.
Tate, Thos. S., 307, 312.
Tatum, Jno. R., 307.
Tax Statistics, 315.
Temple, Robt., 311.

Thompson, A., 314.
Thornton, Jno. T., 306.
Thornton, M. A., 305, 306, 313.
Tilden, 308.
Vance, Judge, 309.
Vasey, W. J., 305, 313.
Wafford, J. L., 303.
Waite, Dr. J. C.. 299.
Walthall, E. C., 305.
Walker, 303, 305.
Walker, James, 299.
Walker, J. C., 305.
Walker, Mat, 306.
Walker, W. H., 305.
Wallace, Gen., 312.
Walton, 308.
Watson, J. W. C., 305.
Wells, A. W., 303.
Wheeler, L., 299.
Wheeler, T. W., 314.
White, F. B., 313.
White, Thos. W., 296, 309, 312.
Willard, L. G., 313.
Wilkinson, Robt., 312.
Williams, Stephen, 299.
Wilroy, W. J., 313.
Wilroy, W. W., 299.
Wilson, N., 299.
Wilson, 306.
Wiseman, Theodore, 298, 301.
Woods, Jno. W., 305.
Wright, G. B., 306.
Wynn, S. L., 306.
Young, 305.
DeSoto, Hernando, 295.
Dickson, Ab, 298, 310.
Dicksons, 272.
Dillingham, James, 115.
Dillon, Mrs. D. M., 178.
Dismeke, Noah, 276, 285.
Dockery, Dr. H., 299, 312.
Dockery, T. C., 303.
Doggett, R. E., 299, 307.
Donald, Abram, 223.
Donald, Willis, 209.
Donalds, 272.
Dorroh, I. L., 9.
Dotson, Bill, 194.
Dow, Lorenzo, 347, 348, 349.
Dow, Mr., 90, 96.
Dowd, J. B., 112.
Dowd, W. F., 99, 132.
Dowdy, 244.
Dowdy, W. W., 263.
Duke, 230.
Duke, Henry, 234, 245, 262.
Duke, Sam, 242, 263.
Dulaney, Col. Dan'l M., 331.
Dunham, Simon, 133.
Dupree, Jack, 130.
Durham, H. H., 179.
Dye, W. A., 256.
Dye, W. R., 306.
Dyess, Jno, 217.
Dyess, Prince, 216.

E

Eads, 272.
Eads, Col. Jos. D., 278.
Eads, Col. J. L., 274.
Earl, Charles, 70.
Eavenson, T. M., 299.
Echest, Dr., 138.
Echols, Larkin, 303.
Eckford, J. M., 290.
Eckford, J. W., 97.
Eckford, Oliver, 149.
Economic Conditions, DeSoto County, 311.
Economic Conditions, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 196.
Economic Conditions, Leake County, 287.
Economic Conditions, Monroe County, 139.
Economic Conditions, Newton County, 224.
Economic Conditions, Pontotoc County, 259.
Edde, Mr. M. P., 88.
Education and Religion, Leake County, 285.
Educational Conditions, Monroe County, 137.
Educational Conditions, Pontotoc County, 255.
Education and Religion, Newton County, 222.
Educational System, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 195.
Edwards, Frank, 278.
Edwards, Geo. R., 278, 280, 290.
Eivers, Chris., 173, 187, 191, 195, 199.
Eldrigde, Col. W. H., 189.
Elections in 1875, Monroe County, 143.
Election Frauds, Monroe County, 135.
Elections and Party Methods, Newton County, 213.

Elections and Campaign Methods, Leake County, 280.
Eliot, Rev. John, 363, 372.
Elkin, 148, 150.
Emmons, Wm. M., 208.
English, Colonel, 88.
Eure, Jethro, 290.
Evans, J. J., 307, 314.
Evans, W. G., 115.
Evanses, 97.
Everett, Jno., 312.
Evolution of Wilkinson County, 75, 86.
Eustes, Wm., 366.

F

Farmers, J. W., 299.
Farms, Sizes, etc., Pontotoc County, 265.
Featherstun, General, 250.
Featherston, W. L., 307.
Fields, Reuben, 175, 199.
Flint, Joseph, 130.
Flint, Willis, 130.
Florida de Blanca, Count, 37, 41.
Flourney, R. W., 231, 234, 235, 236, 248, 250, 253.
Floyd, C. N., 199.
Folsom, Col. David, 373, 377, 381, 390, 395.
Folsom, John, 44.
Foote, Henry S., 323.
Ford, Mr. T. J., 134.
Forrest, General, 128, 243, 244, 246, 337.
Fortenberry, M. M., 134, 182, 183, 191, 200.
Foster, John W., 52.
Foster, Maj. Gen. Jno. G., 332.
Fountaine, 230.
Fountaine, Col. C. D., Sr., 233, 249, 262.
Fountaine, C. D., Jr., 233, 236, 243, 247, 250.
Fountaine, J. D., 233.
Fountaine, Col. J. B., Sr., 247.
Fountaine, Jess, 254.
Fowler, A., 45.
Franklin, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Fraudulent Contracts, DeSoto Co. 308.
French, 206
French, Capt. O. C., 187.
French, Gen., 332, 334, 335, 336.
French, Mr. and Mrs., 258.
French Trading Post and the Chocchuma Village in East Mississippi. 325.
Freedman's Bureau, The, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 189.
Freedmen's Bureau, Monroe County, 133.
Freedmen's Bureau, DeSoto County, 310.
Freeman, J. D., 300.
Freeman, Lieut. E. T., 337.
Freeneys, 272.
Frierson, Prof. W. V., 257.
Frisselle, Miss, 373.
Fuller, Wm., 256.

G

Gadsden, J., 408.
Galbreath, Colonel, 178.
Gallaspy, C. B., 208.
Galloway, Bishop Charles B., Sketch of, 19, 21-30.
Date of Birth, 21
As a Boy, 21
Matriculation, 21.
Conversion, 22.
Licensed to Preach, 22.
Chosen Professor, 22.
Marriage, 23.
As a Preacher, 23.
Elected Bishop, 24.
Death, 29.
Galvez, 36.
Gambrel, W. C., 256.
Gardoqui, M., 37, 45, 46, 48.
Garr, George, 222.
Garrett, Geo. W., 182.
Garrett, Mr. Phil, 190.
Garrett, N. A., 200 .
Garrett, S. M., 273, 278, 279.
Gartman, Dr. John, 172, 179, 186, 191, 199, 200.
Gary, R. P., 219.
Gathright, T. S., 303.
Gathwright, Thos., 200, 220.
Gay, 100.
Gay, Bill, 150.
Gayoso, Gov., 51.
General Manufacturing Statistics for Lawrence County, 202.
General Manufacturing Statistics of Monroe County, 159.

General Manufacturing Statistics, Newton County, 228.
General Manufacturing Statistics, Pontotoc County, 266.
George, General, 185.
Gerard, M., 34.
Gholson, S. J., Federal Judge and Congressman, 99, 102, 106, 128. 132, 135, 138, 230.
Gibson, D. D., 216.
Gibson, Mr., 97, 100.
Gibson, Mr., 354.
Gibson, N. J., 243, 263.
Gibson, Tobias, 349.
Gibsons, 206.
Gibbs, Hon. W. H., 186, 300.
Gifford, C. T., 100
Giles, J. A. 214.
Gillem, Gen., 241.
Gillespie, C., 299, 305.
Gilleylen, H. S., 147.
Gilmer, W. B., 238, 251.
Gilmore, Billie, 254.
Gladney, Rev. Richard, 87, 89.
Gladney, Wm., 101.
Gleed, Adam, 127.
Godoy, 48, 49.
Golightly, 100.
Gordon, 230.
Gordon, Mr. James W., 91.
Gordon, Col. James, 232, 236, 246, 262.
Government, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 178.
Government, Leake County, 293.
Government, Newton County, 208.
Government, Pontotoc County, 239.
Goodlad, Mr., 122.
Grant, President, 108, 306, 308, 333.
Grant, Wren, 258.
Gray, A. E., 208.
Gray, Ben, 194.
Gray, George, 273, 290.
Green, Thomas, 55.
Green, Thomas M., 355.
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 355.
Gregg,——, 150.
Gregsby, Jno, B., 273, 290.
Grierson, 207.
Griffin, General, 96.
Griffith, Melton, 199.
Griffin, T. H., 263.
Griffin, Thomas, 349.
Groomes, Mr., 137.
Groves, W. R., 290.
Gullett, Mr. Ben, 89.
Gwinn, Capt. Sylvester, 195.
Gwinn, Isaiah, 195.

H

Hall, 396.
Hall, Dr., 173.
Hall, Hiram, 305, 306.
Hall, James, 199.
Hall, J. G., 307.
Hall, J. S., Jr., 305.
Hall, Maj, Robert, 278.
Hall, R. J., 280.
Hall, Wm., 278.
Halbert, H. S., 325.
Haldeman, Walter, 338.
Halle, C. T., 121.
Hampton, Lieut., 337.
Hancock, Jno. A., 299.
Hansom, J. A., 273, 276, 277, 290.
Harp, Wiley, 356.
Harper, Wm. B., 290.
Harper, W. D. B., 144.
Harpers, 272.
Harris, G. E., 299, 303, 305, 307.
Harris, Joel Chandler, 380.
Harris, Ned, 254, 258.
Harris, W. H., 207.
Harrison, Gen., 45.
Harvell, Ben, 255.
Harvey, Howard, 209, 212, 213, 214. 219, 222.
Hatch, 148.
Hatch, Dr., 112.
Hatch, N. W., 115, 137.
Hatchs, 97.
Haughton, 97.
Haughton, Lafayette, 99.
Haye, M. J. L., 220.
Hays, Mr., 89.
Henderson, G. G., 290.
Henderson, James, 290.
Hensen, W. D., 290.
Herbert, J. L., 99, 122.
Herndon, Ned, 92.
Herring, Col. J. B., 231.
Herring, E., 240, 241, 263.
Herrons, 230.
Hickman, Samuel, 199.
Higler, J. M., 263.
Hill, Francis, 306, 313.
Hill, Hon. R. A., 132, 220.
Hill, Judge, 210.
Hill, Judge, H. A., 250.

Hill, Wallace, 284.
Hinds, Gen., 357.
Hinds, Gen, Thos., 320.
Hirsh, Hon. Joseph, 9, 17.
Hodges, Buck, 147, 150.
Hodges, Wm., 110.
Hodges, W. M., 147, 155.
Hogan, J. P., 125.
Hogan, Price, 110, 124, 157.
Hogan, W. B., 136.
Hogans, 206.
Holliday, Capt. Tom, 101.
Hollis, A. D., 290.
Holloway, Ira G., 88, 305, 306.
Holloway, Mrs., 88.
Holloway, Wash, 127, 149.
Holmes, Bill, 124.
Holmes, Finley, 299.
Honey, R. A., 147.
Hood, Gen. Jno. B., 334, 335, 336, 337, 338.
Hooker, E. C., 300.
Hooker, Wm. B., 240, 263.
Hooper, Mr. Wm., 373, 379.
Hooper, W. D., 143.
Hooper, W. P., 245, 263.
Hornberger, Thomas, 130.
Horton, G. G., 241, 263.
Houston, Captain Robert E., 18, 119, 127, 128, 132, 133, 137, 140, 142.
Houston, Judge, 89, 97, 154.
Houston, L. E., 99, 106, 115.
Houston, R. F., 115.
Houston, Sam, 406.
Howard, 208.
Howard, B. R., 115.
Howard, Dr. Hector, 275.
Howell, Elisha, 109, 157.
Howard, H. H., 276, 283, 285, 290.
Howard, J. W., 102, 115, 147.
Howell, Calvin, 325.
Howse, Albert R., 307.
Howse, L., 306.
Hoyle, J. M., 245, 263.
Huckleby, Abe, 251.
Huckstickler, Gen., 247.
Huddleston, A. W., 306.
Hudgins, A. P., 115, 131, 133, 137, 138, 139, 148.
Hughes, Scott, 149.
Hulensci, Capt., 240.
Hull, Dabney, 299.
Humphreys, B. G., 300.
Humphreys, Mr., 58.
Humphries, Rev. David, 386, 387, 398.
Hunt, George, 306.
Hunter, J. J., 243, 263.
Hurst, Mr. G. G., 9, 19.
Hutchens, J. J., 290.
Hutchins, Anthony, 347.
Hutchinson, 100.
Hurlburt, 309.

I

Isom, Jim, 102.
Irvin, Ant., 157.

J

Jackson, Gen., 105, 317, 319, 320, 355, 357, 365, 366.
Jackson's, Gen., Military Road, 403.
Bowie, Jim, 406.
Carroll, Col., 404.
Coffee, Col., 404.
Colberts, 414.
Gadsden, J., 408.
Houston, Sam., 406.
Lewis, W. T., 417.
Love, Wm. A., 403.
Melish, John, 414.
Poindexter, George, 409.
Ripsley, Gen., 408.
Scallan, Lieut. James, 409.
Sampson, Thomas, 415.
Willis, Maj. Perrin, 408, 409.
Young, Capt. H., 408.
Jackson, Hattie, 195.
Jacobson, E. P., 132.
Jay, Mr., 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 46.
Jeffars, E., 303.
Jefferson, President, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58.
Jeffords, E., 200.
Jeffreys, J. G., 299.
Jonas, Major S. A., 98, 108, 115, 118, 140, 144.
Jones, 206.
Jones, C. R., 314.
Jones, Dr. W. R., 9.
Jones, E. H., 290.
Jones, E. R., 355.
Jones, J. H., 75.
Jones, John S., 299, 306.
Jones, L. L., 310.
Johnson, Ike, 100.
Johnson, J. H., 305.

Johnson, President, 108.
Johnson, S., 290.
Johnson, Sam., 305.
Johnson, Wiley, 286.
Johnson, W. H., 299, 313.
Johnson, Wm., 100.
Johnson, T. H., 306.
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 332, 333, 334.
Johnston, Hon. Frank, 9, 15.
Jolly, Jno., 175, 191, 199.
Jordan, Sheriff, 355.
Jourdenes, 49.
Jumper, W. G., 256.

K

Kax, J. J., 208.
Keegan, James E., 199.
Keegan, Jno. H., 200.
Keith, Thomas, 208, 210, 220.
Kerr, Hon. Frank M., 63, 67, 68, 69, 72.
Kidd, J. R., 141, 142.
King, 276, 287.
King, Miles H., 199.
Killingsworth, W. A., 356.
Kingsbury, Rev. Cyrus, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 379, 382, 383, 390, 391, 395, 397.
Kingsbury, Sarah V., 379, 397.
Ku Klux Klan, DeSoto County, 310.
Ku Klux Klan, Pontotoc County, 246.
Ku Klux Klan, The, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 192.
Kyle, Gideon, 199.

L

Labauve, Felix, 296, 300, 305, 311, 312.
Lacy, Miss Nannie, 271.
Lacey, E. F., 278.
Lacey, E. R., 278.
Lacey, J. T., 118, 142.
Lake, 97.
Lamar, L. Q. C., 235, 236, 308.
Land Taxable, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 198.
Land, W. S., 273, 290.
Lann, 100.
Langston, R. A. 263.
Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, Reconstruction in, 163.
Acres of Land Sold for Taxes, 198.
Agricultural Statistics for Lawrence County, 202.
Alcorn, Governor, 172, 186, 200.
Allen, Jno., 175, 181.
Ames, Governor, 176, 177.
Appendix A, Statistical Information, 198.
Appendix B, 201.
Beal, Reuben, 200.
Bennett, Dr. J. W., 177, 197.
Benton, A. H., 199, 200.
Bilbo, G. A., 199.
Block, Morris P., 199.
Baggett, W. P., 199.
Boozer, Dr. J. D., 173, 180, 191, 199.
Boswell, Mr. J. J., 190.
Bozeman, Hamp, 192.
Brown, 200.
Brown, Morris, 175, 180, 199.
Buckley, Ben, 194.
Buckley, Bright, 189.
Buckley, Noel S., 199.
Buckley, J. M., 187.
Buckley, Judge J. C., 179.
Butler, J. M., 199.
Butler, W. H., 169, 180, 199, 200.
Byrd, H. J., 200.
Byrne, Pete, 195.
Byrne, R. O., 174, 191, 195.
Campbell, Judge, 183.
Cassady, Hiram, Jr., 200.
Cannon, J. F., 199.
Charles, George, 175, 181, 199, 200.
Chrisman, Judge J. B., 171, 183.
Church Statistics for Lawrence County, 204.
Clover, Frank A., 176, 177, 180, 191, 199.
Cope, Ike, 180.
Costello, Maj. E., 186.
County Officers, 198.
Cowart, E. O., 175, 195, 200.
Cowart, J. N., 199.
Cox, A. O., 199.
Cox, J. R., 199.
Dale, H. H., 199.
Dale, Rev. Steve W., 166, 182.
Deen, Wm. W., 190.
Dent, 200.
Dillon, Mrs. D. M., 178.
Dotson, Bill, 194.
Durham, H. H., 179.

Economic Conditions, 196
Educational System, 195.
Eivers, Chris, 173, 187, 191, 195, 199.
Eldridge, Col. W. H., 189.
Fields, Reuben, 175, 199.
Fortenberry, M. M., 174, 182, 183, 191, 200.
Freedmen's Bureau, The, 189.
French, Capt. O. C., 187.
Galbraith, Colonel, 178.
Garrett, Geo. W., 182.
Garrett, Mr. Phil., 190.
Garrett, N. A., 200
Gathright, Thos., 200.
Gartman, Dr. John, 172, 179, 186, 191, 199, 200.
General Manufacturing Statistics, Lawrence County, 202.
George, General, 185.
Gibbs, Hon. W. H., 186.
Government, 178.
Gray, Ben, 194.
Griffith, Milton, 199.
Gwinn, Capt. Sylvester, 195.
Gwinn, Isaiah, 195.
Hall, Dr., 173.
Hall, James, 199.
Hickman, Sam'l, 199.
Jackson, Hattie, 195.
Jeffords, E., 200.
Jolly, Jno., 175, 191, 199.
Keegan, James E., 199.
Keegan, Jno. H., 199.
King, Miles H., 199.
Ku Klux Klan, The, 192.
Kyle, Gideon, 199.
Land Taxable, 198
Lenoir, A. L., 199.
Lenore, Miss, 195.
Lenore, Sidney, 195.
Longino. A. H., 200.
Lowry, Robt., 200.
Loyal Leagues, 190.
Lynch, James, 200.
Magee, Hattie, 163.
Magee, Mr. James S., 166, 187.
Mason, Henry, 175, 185.
Maxwell, L. C., 199.
McClay, J., 200.
McMillan, Judge G. S., 172.
Millsaps, Maj. R. W., 177.
Money, Col. H. D., 187.
Moore, John D., 176, 177, 178. 180, 191, 199.
Morris, J. W., 200.
Mullens, Mike, 192.
Musgrove, Henry, 200.
Nativities of Foreigners in Lawrence County, 204.
Neal, A. J., 200.
Neal, Jno. S., 169, 170, 182, 183, 199, 200.
Nelson, Zachariah, 180, 199.
Newsom, Jno., 199.
Ord, General, 171, 179.
Osborn, J. N., 177.
Owners of Slaves, 201.
Parkman, S. E., 169, 170, 199, 200.
Peas, Henry, 200.
Pepper, E. M., 173, 200.
Perce, Col. L. W., 187, 200.
Personal Property Taxable, 198.
Peyton, E. G., 187.
Political Campaigns and Elections, 183.
Political Parties and Leaders, 167.
Population, 198.
Population Statistics, Lawrence County, 201.
Powers, Lieut. Gov. B. C., 200.
Rate of County Taxation, 198.
Registration of Voters, 200.
Revels, Rev. H. R., 186.
Riley, F. L., 193.
Robertson, Norvel, 199.
Robertson, Wm., 199, 200.
Ross, Jno., 200.
Ross, Simeon, 199, 200.
Rowan, Dr. E. A., 189.
Selected Manufacturing Statistics, Lawrence County, 203.
Shephard, A. A., 199.
Shows, Monroe, 194.
Sinclair, Thos., 200.
Smith, Isaiah, 182, 200.
Smith, Pason, 175, 199.
Stafford, Col. E., 187.
Stockdale, Thos. R., 186, 200.
Summers, Hezekiah, 199.
Swann, James, 180.
Taylor, Mrs., 179.
Thompson, Judge R. H., 171.
Valuation of Property, etc., Lawrence County, 203.
Vannerson, Judge Wm., 171, 199.
Vasser, W. H., 200.
Waddell, E. B., 171, 173, 191, 196, 199, 200.

White and Negro Illiteracy in Lawrence County, 204.
Williams, Isaac, 199.
Williams, Mr., 170.
Wills, A. W., 200.
Weathersby, H., 199.
Weathersby, Mr. W. W., 190.
Younkin, S. W., 193.
Lawrence, St. Clair, 256.
Leake County, Reconstruction in, 271.
Agricultural Statistics, 292.
Allen, Bill, 285.
Allen, C. C., 273.
Allen, W. B., 278, 279, 281.
Ames, Gov. Edelbert, 274.
Appendix A, 290.
Appendix B, 291.
Bain, Robt., 273, 290.
Beauchamp, Clint, 276.
Beauchamp, D. C., 276, 290.
Beamans, 272.
Bilbo, A. H., 276, 290 .
Bilbo, Wm., 276, 290.
Board of Police, etc., 290.
Boyett, A. J., 290.
Branson, Tom, 284.
Brewer, Jesse, 290.
Brewer, W. C., 290.
Cadenhead, D. F., 278, 279, 290.
Caldwell, 286.
Campbell, Judge J. A. P., 282.
Cato, Joel, 273.
Cooper, Thos. L., 290.
Cotton, A. H., 290.
Cotton, Bill, 275.
Crane, Chas. A., 274.
Crabb, B. P., 290.
Cunningham, 283.
Denson, J. N., 290.
Dicksons, 272.
Dismeke, Noah, 276, 285.
Donalds, 272.
Eads, 272.
Eads, Col. Joseph D., 278.
Eads, Col. J. L., 274.
Economic Conditions, 287.
Eckford, J. M., 290.
Education and Religion, 285.
Edwards, Frank, 278.
Edwards, Geo. R., 278, 280, 290.
Elections and Campaign Methods, 280.
Eure, Jethro, 290.
Freeneys, 272.
Garrett, L. M., 273, 278, 279.
Government, 273.
Gray, George, 273, 290.
Gregsby, Jno. B., 273, 290.
Groves, W. R., 290.
Hall, Maj. Robt., 278.
Hall, Wm., 278.
Harpers, 272.
Harper, Wm. B., 290.
Hansom, J. A., 273, 276, 277, 290.
Henderson, G. G., 290.
Henderson, James, 290.
Hensen, W. D., 290.
Hill, Wallace, 284.
Hollis, A. D., 290.
Howard, Dr. Hector, 275.
Howard, H. H., 276, 283, 285, 290.
Hutchens, J. J., 290.
Johnson, S., 290.
Johnson, Wiley, 286.
Jones, E. H., 290.
King, 276, 281.
Lacey, E. F., 278.
Lacey, E. R., 278.
Lacy, Miss Nannie, 271.
Land, W. S., 273, 290.
Leake, Gov. Walter, 271.
Lovorn, W. W., 274.
Mann, M. H., 273.
Matlock, C. H., 290.
Matlock, Jim, 286.
Mann, M. M., 290.
Manufacturing Statistics, 293.
McDonald, D. S., 273.
McDonald, P. S., 290.
McIntosh, S., 290.
McMullen, Ned., 283.
Moore, Richard, 290.
Nash, George, 281.
Nativity of Foreigners, 291.
Officers of Leake County, 290.
Organizations, 283.
Owners of Slaves, 291.
Pannell, George, 284.
Parrott, Allen J., 273.
Parties and Party Leaders, 276.
Population, 291.
Pratt, 283.
Preston, 284.
Roby, Dr., 281.
Ross, 283.
Rushing, B. S., 273, 290.
Rushing, Ned, 275, 276, 282, 283, 287.
Rushing, Strickland, 276.

Rushing, W. L., 290.
Russell, Green, 276.
Sanders, Henry, 285.
Sanders, M., 290.
Seviers, 272.
Sharkey, Gov., 273.
Simpson, M., 290.
Singleton, Col. A. R., 282.
Smyth, James S., 290.
Statistics of Churches, 294.
Stubbs, Jim, 285.
Taxes and Public Debts, 292.
Taylor, Frank, 275.
Treadwell, D., 290.
Vanansdales, 272.
Wallace, R. L., 278, 290.
Ward, Dr. B. N., 278.
Warners, 272.
Warren, Berthur, 274, 276, 277. 278, 290.
Warren, Henry, 276, 277, 278.
Warren, H. H., 275.
Watson, Jack, 283.
Whaling, Harman, 275.
White and Negro Illiteracy, 293.
Williams, L. D., 290.
Williams, Miss Jennie, 276.
Williams, R. J., 274, 290.
Wood, 286.
Wood, W. H., 274, 290.
Leake, Gov. Walter, 271.
Lee, Capt. J. W., 122, 124, 137, 147. 148, 150, 153, 155, 156.
Lee, Gen. Stephen D., 9, 16, 332.
Lee, Lorenzo, 127.
Leftwich, Hon. George J., 9, 17, 120. 360.
LeFlore, Greenwood, 358.
LeFleur, Louis, 358.
Lenoir, A. L., 199.
Lenore, Miss, 195.
Lenore, Sidney, 195.
Lewis, Alfred Henry, 366.
Lewis, J. A., 361.
Lewis, M. M., 107, 157.
Lewis, P. 299.
Lewis, W. T., 417.
Levy, Col. R. M., 100.
Levy, Mrs., 100.
Lindley, Joseph, 305.
Lipsey, E. J., 298, 300, 301.
Listenby, Robt., 238.
List of Contributions, 9, 10.
Little, F. H., 109, 118, 155.
Little, R. B., 118, 147, 150.
Livingstone, Edward, 57.
Longino, A. H., 200.
Longmire, G. E., 208, 215, 219.
Longstreet, Gen., 332.
Louchbridge, Dr. S. G., 218.
Love, 97.
Love, James, 102.
Love, W. K., 299.
Love, Wm. A., 363, 403.
Lovorn, W. W., 274.
Lowry, Robt., 200, 303, 305.
Loyal League, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 190.
Lucas, J. H., 314.
Luzerne, 36.
Lynch, James, 200, 305.
Lynch, Jim, 218, 219, 222.
Lynch, Miss, 222.
Lyles, W. L., 240, 263.

M

Madison, Mr., 53.
Magee, Hattie, 163.
Magee, Mr. James S., 166, 187.
Malone, C. C., 245, 263.
Malone, Tom, 131.
Mann, M. H., 273.
Mann, M. M., 290.
Manning, V. H., 132, 307, 308.
Manufacturing Statistics, Leake County, 293.
Martin, 230.
Marking the Natchez Trace, 345.
Marshall, C. A., 305, 306.
Marschalk, Andrew, 353.
Mason, George W., 313.
Mason, Henry, 175, 185.
Mason, Samuel, 350, 356.
Matheny, J. M., 92.
Matlock, Jim, 286.
Matlock, C. H., 290.
Matthews, E., 299.
Matthews, 305.
May, James, 356.
Mayes, Judge Edward, 9, 12.
Mayfield, Jesse, 130.
Mayhew, 363, 373.
Mayhew, A. M., 256.
Mayhew Mission to the Choctaws, 363.
American Board Missionaries in Mississippi, 401-402.
Baldwin, Joseph G., 393.
Blackburn, Rev. Gideon, 367.

Byington, Mr., 373, 376, 391, 396.
Chamberlain, Rev. Wm., 379.
Chase, Miss, 373.
Claiborne, Gov., 367.
Crane, Rev. Dr., 395.
Cushman, Mr. Calvin, 373, 379, 381.
Eliot, Rev. John, 363, 372.
Eustis, Wm., 366.
Folsom, Col. David, 373, 377, 381, 390, 395.
Frisselle, Miss, 373.
Hall, 396.
Harris, Joel Chandler, 380.
Hooper, Mr. Wm., 373, 379.
Humphries, Rev. David, 386, 387, 308.
Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 365, 366.
Kingsbury, Rev. Cyrus, 370, 372. 373, 375, 376, 379, 382, 383, 390, 391, 395, 397.
Kingsbury, Sarah V., 379, 397.
Lewis, Alfred Henry, 366.
Love, William A., 363.
Mayhew, 363, 373.
Mills, Samuel, J., 365, 368, 369.
McKay, Hon. J. J., 393.
McKinney, Col. Thos. L., 388.
Monroe, President, 388.
Mooney, Mr. James, 400.
Morgan, Gen., Benj., 367.
Pitchlyn, Maj. Jno., 373.
Pride, Wm. W., 379.
Richards, Rev. Thos. C., 368.
Schermerhorn, Jno. F., 365, 368, 369, 371.
Smith, Rev. Jedediah, 373, 381.
Stuart, Mrs. M. J., 400.
Stuart, Rev. T. C., 378, 382, 386, 397, 398.
Swayze, Rev. Samuel, 381.
Thatcher, Miss, 373.
Varnum, Miss, 373.
Wilkinson, Gen., 366.
Williams, L. S. and wife, 370, 372, 373, 396.
Wright, Alfred, 379.
Maxwell, L. C., 199.
McAlister, James D., 93, 96.
McAlpins, 206.
McCain, W. N., 305.
McCain, Thos, 305.
McCall, J. W., 314.
McCargo, W. H., 299, 306.
McClay, J., 200.
McClay, Joseph L., 303.
McClellan, Charley, 95.
McClurg, Hon. Monroe. 61.
McClusky, Jno. D., 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 132, 137, 143.
McClutch, S., 290.
McCollium, Jno., 358.
McCorkle, R. W., 314.
McCoy, H. M., 107, 138, 157.
McCracken, J. P., 299, 306, 313.
McCullough, Hon. M., 9.
McDonald, D. S., 273.
McDonald, P. S., 290.
McElroy, Dr. J. C., 210.
McGillivray, 347.
McKay, Hon. J. J., 393.
McKee, Geo. C., 218.
McKee, Sheriff, 238, 251.
McKenney, Peter, 313.
McKenzie, Donald, 314.
McKinney, 100.
McKinney, Ben., 134.
McKinney, Col. Thos. L., 388.
McMaster, 57.
McMillan, Judge G. S., 172.
McMillan, Wm. 102.
McMullen, Ned, 283.
McMullens, 206.
McNairy, Jno. C., 101.
McNeil, John, 263.
McNeill, 230.
McPherson, Gen., 334.
McWarter, B. F., 263.
McWillie, Hon. T. A., 9.
McWorter, B. F., 240.
McVey, L. D. T., 243.
Meek, J. E., 109, 136, 137, 157, 159.
Melish, Jno., 414.
Meriweather, C. S., 299.
Meriweather, V., 299.
Meserole, Mr., 94.
Military Observation and Experiences, David Ward Sanders, 332.
Miller, 230.
Miller, Col. Hugh R., 231.
Miller, Ed, 242, 263.
Miller, Mrs. Walter C., 342.
Miller, P., 312.
Miller, R. L., 305.
Miller, R. A., 243, 244, 263.
Milling, W. A., 208.
Mills, Samuel J., 365, 368, 369.
Millsaps, Maj. R. W., 177.

Minus, Dr., 133.
Mission to the Choctaws, The Mayhew, 363.
Mississippi Historical Society, Proceedings of Tenth Public Meeting, 9-20.
Appendix I—County Histories of Reconstruction, 12.
Appendix II—Report of Committee on Necrology, 14.
Committees, 9.
Contributions, 9, 10.
Magee, Miss Hattie, introduced, 10.
Opening Exercises, 9.
Reports of Committees—
On Necrology, 10.
On Resolutions, 11.
On Nominations, 11.
Report of Secretary, 11.
Sketch of Judge S. S. Calhoon, 15.
Sketch of General Stephen Dill Lee, 16.
Sketch of Hon. Murray F. Smith, 17.
Sketch of Captain Robert E. Houston, 18.
Sketch of Bishop Charles B. Galloway, 19.
Mississippi-Louisiana Boundary, Demarcation of, from Mouth of Pearl River to Gulf of Mexico, 61-74.
Correspondence Relative to Placing Buoys, 68.
Decision of Supreme Court of U. S., 61.
Earl, Charles, 70.
Kerr, Hon. Frank M., 63, 67, 68, 69, 72.
McClurg, Hon., Monroe, 61.
Methods of Field Work, 66.
Montgomery, Col. W. A., 67.
Mueller, Mr. Eberhardt, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72.
Noel, Gov., 63, 64, 67.
Opinion of Solicitor for Department of Commerce and Labor, 70-72.
Placing of the Buoys, 72-74.
Provisions for Marking Boundary, 62, 66.
Riley, Franklin L., 61.
Sanders, Gov., 63.
Straus, Hon., Oscar S., 64.
Winston, Mr., 72.
Witzel, H. M., 68, 69.
Work of Final Joint Commission, 67.
Mississippi River, The, as a Political Factor in American History, 31-60.
Adams, 40, 53.
Amiss, Thomas, 45, 46.
Aranda, Count, 41.
Blount, Gov., 56.
Carmichael, Mr., 47, 48, 49.
Clark, George Rogers, 54, 56.
Clay, Mr., 53.
Exordium, 31-33.
Federal Relations, 54-57.
Florida de Blanca, Count, 37, 41.
Folsom, John, 44.
Foster, John W., 52.
Fowler, A., 45.
Franklin, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Galvez, 36.
Gardoqui, M., 37, 45, 46, 48.
Gayoso, Gov., 51.
Gerard, M., 34.
Godoy, 48, 49.
Green, Thomas, 55.
Harrison, Gov., 45.
Humphreys, Mr., 58.
International Relations, 33-54.
Intersectional Relations, 57-58.
Interstate Relations, 58.
Intrastate Relations, 59.
Jay, Mr., 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 46.
Jefferson, President, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58.
Jourdenes, 49.
Livingston, Edward, 57.
Lord Shelbourne, 43.
Luzerne, 36.
Madison, Mr., 53.
McMaster, 57.
Monroe, Mr., 48, 49, 56.
O'Riley, General, 34.
Pinckney, Thomas, 49.
Randolph, Edmund, 49.
Rayneval, 43.
Ross, Senator, 56.
San Lorenzo, Treaty of, 50.
Schuyler, 44, 47.
Short, Mr., 47, 48, 49.
St. Clair, Gov., 56.
Wilkinson, Gen., 47.

Washington, President, 45, 49.
Wayne, Gen., 56.
Vergennes, 42, 43,
Mitchell, F. A., 240.
Mitchell, Hon. C. B., 236, 244, 263.
Mitchell, Lewis, 305.
Mitchell, Samuel, 359.
Mitchell, T. A., 239, 263.
Mitchells, 230.
Money, Col. H. D., 187.
Monroe County, Antebellum Times in, 87-102.
Acker, J. M., Circuit Judge, 99.
Baker, 88.
Barker, 97.
Beckett, Dr. James McKinney, 87.
Beckett, N. J., 99, 102.
Bishop, 97.
Bowman and Clopton, 96.
Bradford, Gen., 88.
Bradford, Henry, 102.
Brandon, Thos., 100.
Brassfield, Joe, 94.
Buchanan, G. J., 99.
Bumpass, Mr., 90.
Burnett, Luceillus, 102.
Carlisle, Adam, 100.
Carlisle, Editor Louis T., 91.
Carlisle, Henry, 100.
Carlisle, Mr., 91.
Carson, J. T., 96.
Cooper, 100.
Cooper, Cunningham, 102.
Coopwood, Mr. Wash., 93.
Coopwood, Thomas, 99, 192.
Cloptons, 97.
Crawford, 96.
Cummings, Mason, 99.
Dalton, Dr. R. H., 93.
Dansby, 100.
Davis, John, 99.
Davis, Reuben, Congressman, 99.
Dow, Mr., 90, 96.
Dowd, W. F., 99.
Eckford, J. W., 97.
Edde, Mr. M. P., 88.
English, Colonel, 88.
Evanses, 97.
Gay, 100.
Gholson, S. J., Federal Judge and Congressman, 99, 102.
Gibson, 100.
Gifford, C. T., 100.
Gibson, Mr., 97.
Gladney, Beckett, 101.
Gladney, Rev. Richard, 87, 89.
Gladney, Wm., 101.
Golightly, 100.
Gordon, Mr. James W., 91.
Griffin, General, 96.
Gullett, Mr. Ben., 89.
Hatchs, 97.
Haughton, Lafayette, 99.
Haughstons, 97.
Hays, Mr., 89.
Herbert, J. L., 99.
Herndon, Ned, 92.
Holliday, Capt. Tom, 101.
Holloway, Mrs., 88.
Holloway, Ira G., 88.
Houston, Judge, 89, 97.
Houston, L. E., 99.
Howard, J. W., 102.
Hutchinson, 100.
Isom, Jim, 102.
Johnson, Ike, 100.
Johnson, Wm., 100.
Jonas, Maj. S. A., 98.
Lake, 97.
Lann, 100.
Levy, Col., R. M., 100.
Levy, Mrs., 100.
Love, 97.
Love, James, 102.
Mariah, Aunt, 96.
Matheny, J. M., 92.
McAlister, Mrs., 100.
McClellan, Charley, 95.
McKinney, 100.
McMillan, Wm., 102.
McNairy, Jno. C., 101.
Meserole, Mr., 94.
Moore, Col. Wm. R., 102.
Moore, Lucien, 101.
Morgan, L. J., 101.
Mosby, Jim, 102.
Nabors, F. M., 100.
Nix, 100.
Oldshue, James, 100.
Paines, 97.
Peters, 88.
Phelan, James, 99.
Prentiss, S. S., 100.
Prewitt, 97.
Puckett, 100.
Pulliam, Mrs., 100.
Randle, J. G., 97.
Randle, Sidney, 97.
Ransom, Mr., 88, 100.

Reynolds, Colonel R. O., 88, 97, 99, 101.
Rogers, F. M., Ex-Judge, 99, 102.
Ross, 100.
Rover, Colonel, 93, 102.
Sale, Jno. B., 99.
Sanders, Frank, 100.
Simpson, Miss, 94, 100.
Sims, Dr. Ben, 88, 97.
Sims, Jno. B., 101.
Smiths, 97.
Snowden, Lieutenant Gus, 102.
Snowden, Walter, 102.
Spann, Mr. Eyre, 87.
Stegall, 100.
Strawhorn, Sam, 94.
Strong, Charley, 101.
Strongs, 97.
Summey, Strong and King, 96.
Sykes, Captain E. O., 95, 97.
Sykes, Captain Lum, 102.
Terrell, B. M., 100.
Tindall, Dr. John L., 89, 97.
Tindall, Mr., 88.
Truland, 96.
Turbeville, J. W., 100.
Vasser, Maj, Wm. H., 88, 97.
Wallace, Judge, 99.
Walton, 97.
Walton, Bill, 93.
Ward, 97.
Ward, Captain Joe, 102.
Watlington, Mr., 99.
Whitfield, 97.
Whitfield, Chief Justice Albert H., 95.
Whitfield, Dr. Needham, 97.
Whitfield, Holmes, 99.
Wightman, James, 94, 96.
Wilkes, Mr., 96, 97.
Williams, Newman, 102.
Willis, 100.
Winkler, 95.
Woods, 88.
Word, 88.
Monroe County, Reconstruction in, 103.
Acker, J. M., 106, 143.
Agricultural Statistics of Monroe County, 159.
Alexander, Dr. Henry, 127.
Allen, Mrs. Sarah A., 138.
Ames, Governor, 108, 115, 155.
Anderson, J. C., 124.
Anderson, J. H., 110, 113, 114, 124, 147.
Anderson, S. G., 124.
Appendix A, 157.
Appendix B, 158.
Assessed Valuation, Taxation and Indebtedness of Monroe County, 160.
Atkins, Ab, 130.
Atkins, Joseph, 133.
Baker, T. W., 107, 157.
Bankhead, Capt., 145.
Barker, B. B., 107, 157.
Barry, F. C., 115, 143.
Barry, Mr. F. G., 123.
Beall, 114.
Beckett, R. C., 115, 120, 123, 137, 143.
Beck, Colonel, 145, 149.
Beck, Captain, 137.
Beeks, D. A., 118.
Beeks, Mrs. D. A., 135.
Bell, W. E., 113.
Blackman, H. C., 131, 132.
Bradford, Adam, 109
Bristow, E. H., 144.
Brock, Capt., 145.
Brooks, Arthur, 124.
Broyle, Dr., 148.
Burdine, J. C., 147.
Butler, Mr., 134, 136.
Butler, Santee, 133.
Caldwell, T. R., 109, 157.
Cantrell, Jeff, 149.
Carter, F. D., 146.
Chambliss, Mr., 116.
Church Statistics of Monroe County, 161.
Clopton, Billy, 150.
Clopton, W. H., Sr., 115.
Coleman, Geo., 147, 148, 150.
County Government, 107.
Crenshaw, David, 157.
Crenshaw, Jones, 125.
Crowe, Jim, 150.
Crump, Elias, 125.
Crump, Sharper, 125.
Dalrymple, A. E., 115, 155.
Davis, Gen. Reuben, 106.
Dent, Grammes, 127.
Dillingham, James, 115.
Dowd, J. B., 112.
Dowd, W. F., 132.
Dunham, Simon, 133.
Dupree, Jack, 130.

Economic Conditions, 139.
Ecbert, Dr., 138.
Eckford, Oliver, 149.
Educational Conditions, 137.
Election Frauds, 135.
Elections in 1875, 143.
Elkin, 148, 150.
Evans, W. G., 115.
Flint, Joseph, 130.
Flint, Willis, 130.
Ford, T. J., 134.
Forrest, General, 128.
Freedmen's Bureau, 133.
Gay, Bill, 150.
General Manufacturing Statistics of Monroe County, 159.
Gholson, Gen., 106, 128, 130, 132, 135, 138.
Gilleylen, H. S., 147.
Gleed, Adam, 127.
Goodlad, Mr., 122.
Grant, President, 108.
Gregg, 150.
Groomes, Mr., 137.
Harper, W. D. B., 144.
Hatch, Dr., 112.
Hatch, N. W., 115, 137.
Herbert, Col. J. L., 122.
Hill, Hon. R. A., 132.
Hodges, Wm., 110.
Hodges, W. M., 147, 155.
Hodges, Buck, 147, 150.
Hogan, J. P., 125.
Hogan, Price, 110, 124, 157.
Hogan, W. B., 136.
Holle, C. T., 121.
Holloway, Wash, 127, 149.
Holmes, Bill, 124.
Honey, R. A., 147.
Hooper, W. D., 143.
Hornberger, Thomas, 130.
Houston, L. E., 106, 115, 154.
Houston, R. E., 119, 127, 128, 132, 133, 137, 140, 142.
Houston, R. F., 115.
Howen, Elisha, 109, 157.
Howard, J. W., 115, 147.
Howard, B. R., 115.
Hudgins, A. P., 115, 131, 133, 137, 138, 139, 143, 148.
Hughes, Scott, 149.
Irvin, Ant., 157.
Jackson, Gen., 105.
Jacobson, E. P., 132.
Johnson, President, 108.
Jonas, Mr. S. A., 108, 118, 140. 144.
Kidd, J. R., 141, 142.
Lacy, J. F., 118, 142.
Lee, Capt. J. W., 122, 124, 137, 147, 148, 150. 153, 155, 156.
Lee, Lorenzo, 127.
Leftwich, Mr., 120.
Lewis, M. M., 107, 157.
Little, F. H., 109, 118, 155.
Little, R. B., 118, 147, 150.
Malone, Tom, 131.
Manning, V. H., 132.
Mayfield, Jesse, 130.
McClusky, Jno. D., 115, 119, 120. 121, 123, 125, 132, 137, 143.
McCoy, H. M., 107, 138, 157.
McKinney, Ben., 134.
Meek, Judge J. E., 109, 136, 137, 156, 157.
Members of Police Board, 157.
Minus, Dr., 133.
Monroe, President James, 103.
Moore, Dr. John, 144.
Moore, Lucien, 133.
Moore, T., 143.
Morgan, Turner, 125.
Muncipal Government, 141.
Munson, N. B., 157.
Nativity of Foreigners in Monroe County, 158.
Od'neil, Robt., 127.
Oldshoe, 121.
Owners of Slaves and Number owned in Monroe County, 158.
Page, Alec, 117, 130, 131.
Page, Wm., 107, 157.
Paine, Bishop Robt., 152.
Parke, 130.
Party Leaders, 114.
Pearce, Jim, 133.
Pennington, George, 123, 147.
Phenister, Miss Isabell, 139.
Pickle, Alf, 157.
Pickle, Geo., 157.
Population of Monroe County, 158.
Puckett, E. F., 103.
Quarles, W. B., 136.
Ragsdale, Tom, 119.
Redwood, W. H., 144.
Reeves, Sam, 149.
Reynolds, R. O., 106, 115, 132, 146, 147.
Reynolds, R. C., 155.

Rice, J. M., 113, 114.
Riley, Dr. J. S., 135, 136, 145, 149.
Riley, W. F., 118.
Roberts, J. S., 123.
School Statistics of Monroe County, 161.
Seaverson, 141.
Secret Organizations, 126.
Selected Manufactures of Monroe County, 161.
Settle, Howard, 124.
Sharkey, W. L., 107.
Sims, B. C., 144.
Simmons, J. P., 112.
Skinner, Alf, 133.
Stith, James, 124.
Stockton, A. M., 157.
Stockton, R. M., 108.
Stockton, R. N., 111.
Stone, R. B., 138.
Strong, George, 124, 157.
Swansey, J. T., 107, 157.
Sykes, A. J., 115, 147.
Sykes Bros, E. O., and Dr. Gus, 106.
Sykes, E. O., 106, 115, 121, 122, 132, 144, 147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 154.
Sykes, Mr. W. A., 140.
Sykes, T. B., 106, 155.
Thompson, M. B., 112.
Trice, J. M., 115, 147.
Thomas, W. C., 109, 157.
Troup, W. W., 109, 115, 147, 157.
Tucker, Hal, 125.
Tucker, Jno., 125.
Turner, G. P. M., 132.
Vasser, Colonel, 133.
Walter, H. W., 132.
Walton, C. W., 107, 157.
Walton, D. A., 124.
Walton, W. D., 115, 127.
Walton, W. L., 157.
Walton, Wm., 110, 113, 124.
Wambles, Abram, 130.
Watkins, J. S., 111, 124.
Watkins, Spencer, 109, 157.
Webb, May, 121.
Wells, G. Wiley, 117, 132.
Whitfield, Alf, 133.
Whitfield, A. H., 147, 157.
Wicks, John, 150.
Willis, Arter, 127.
Willis, Lafayette, 111, 115.
Willis, Plummer, 115, 149.
Williams, Ed., 124.
Winter, Floyd, 107, 157.
Wolfe, 105.
Wood, Andrew, 147.
Woodmansee, W. B., 120, 121, 126, 143.
Young, Chess, 110, 124.
Monroe, Mr., 48, 49, 56.
Monroe, President James, 103, 388.
Montgomery, Col. W. A., 67.
Montgomery, T. E., 256.
Moore, A. J., 243, 244, 263.
Moore, Col. Wm, R.. 102.
Moore, Dr. John, 144.
Moore, Jno. D., 176, 177, 178, 180, 191, 199.
Moore, Lucien, 101, 133.
Moore, Richard, 290.
Moore, T., 143.
Morgan, Gen. Benj., 367.
Morgan, Jas. Bright, 296, 300, 305, 306, 307, 308, 312.
Morgan, L. J., 101.
Morgan, P. M., 313.
Morgan, Turner, 125.
Morphis, Joseph L., 231, 235, 240, 263.
Morris, J. W., 200.
Morris, J. S., 305.
Mosby, Jim, 102.
Mueller, Mr. Eberhardt, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72.
Mullens, Mike, 192.
Municipal Government, Monroe County, 141.
Munson, N. B., 157.
Musgrove, Henry, 200.
Myers, P. S., 300.

N

Nabors, F. M., 100.
Natchez Trace, Marking the, 345.
Cooper, Rev. David, 355.
Davis, Jefferson, 355.
Davis, Joseph, 355.
Dow, Lorenzo, 347, 348, 349.
Gibson, Tobias, 349.
Gibson, Mr., 354.
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 355.
Griffin, Thomas, 349.
Hutchins, Anthony, 347.
McGillivray, 347.
Marschalk, Andrew, 353.
Mason, Samuel, 350, 356.

Nolley, Richmond, 349.
Poindexter, George, 355.
Rankin, Christopher, 355.
Rowland, Mrs. Dunbar, 345.
Turner, Edward, 355.
Vick, Newton, 349.
Nativity of Foreigners in Monroe County, 158.
Nativity of Foreigners, Leake County, 291.
Nativity of Population, Pontotoc County, 265.
Nativites of Foreigners in Lawrence County, 204.
Nash, George, 281.
Neal, A. J., 200.
Neal, Jno. S., 169, 170, 182, 183, 199, 200.
Neely, W. M., 241, 242, 263.
Nelson, Zachariah, 180, 199.
Nesbit, J. G., 299.
Nesbit, R. D., 305.
Nesbit, W. T., 306.
Nesom, Sowell, 305, 313, 314.
Newsom, John, 199.
Newton, Bill, 258.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 205.
Newton County, Reconstruction in, 205.
Agricultural Statistics, 226.
Appendix, Newton County, 226.
Barker, I. I., 220.
Barry, E. H., 209, 212, 213, 215.
Battie, E. D., 213, 214.
Blakeleys, 206.
Blelacks, 206.
Bolton, Judge T. L., 208.
Bounds, G. W., 214.
Bounds, R. D., 214.
Brown, A. J., 222.
Burton, 208.
Caldwell, Charlie, 221.
Campbell, J. H., 215.
Carleton, Eugene, 210, 215, 219, 220.
Chapmans, 206.
Cheeks, Geo., 218.
Church Statistics, 227.
Clarks, 206.
Dansby, J. P., 208.
Davidsons, 206.
Dearing, T., 208.
Denis, D. A., 216, 217.
Denis, E. R., 216, 217.
Donald, Abram, 223.
Donald, Willis, 209.
Dyess, Jno., 217.
Dyess, Prince, 216.
Economic Conditions, 224.
Elections and Party Methods, 213.
Education and Religion, 222.
Emmons, Wm. M., 208.
Frenches, 206.
Gallaspy, C. B., 208.
Gathwright, Thos., 220.
Garr, George, 222.
Gary, R. P., 219.
General Manufacturing Statistics, 228.
Gibson, D. D., 216.
Gibsons, 206.
Giles, J. A., 214.
Government, 208.
Gray, A. E., 208.
Grierson, 207.
Harris, W. H., 207.
Harvey, Howard, 209, 212, 213, 214, 219, 222.
Haye, M. J. L., 220.
Hill, Judge R. A., 211, 220.
Hogans, 206.
Howard, 208.
Jones, 206.
Keith, Thomas, 208, 210, 220.
Knox, J. J., 208.
Louchridge, Dr. S. G., 218.
Longmire, G. E., 208, 215, 219.
Lynch, Miss, 222.
Lynch, Jim, 218, 219, 222.
McAlpins, 206.
McElroy, Dr. J. C., 211.
McKee, Geo. C., 218.
McMullens, 206.
Milling, W. A., 208.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 205.
Norman, Wills, 207.
O'Neal, Dick, 213, 218, 219.
Organizations, 219.
Owners of Slaves, 228.
Parties and Party Leaders, 209.
Perry, Maj. J. J., 208.
Perry, Sim, 217.
Population, 226.
Pullen, Wiley A., 215.
Race Conflicts, 216.
Raines, Wm. M., 209.
Rayburn, Capt., 207.
Reynolds, 206.
Russell, T., 213.

Sandal, Dan, 208.
Sanders, R. L., 218.
Scanlans, 206.
Scanlan, T. M., 210, 213, 221.
Sessions, Frank, 208.
Sharkey, Governor, 208.
Sherman, 207.
Smiths, 206.
Stamper, Martin W., 210, 211.
Swann, C. S., 208, 209, 212.
Tarbell, Judge, 218.
Taxes and Public Debts, 227.
Tingle, Tom, 208.
Tucker, W. T., 216.
Walkers, 206.
Ware, D., 208.
Ware, J. A., 208.
Wards, 206,
Woodward, Wm., 208.
Watkins, Ruth, 205.
Watts, Judge John, 211, 218, 222.
Vances, 206.
New Period in Mississippi, Beginning of a, 317.
Allen James, 359.
Allen, Peggy, 359.
Brunson, G. H., 317.
Burney, Simon, 360.
Claiborne, Gov., 356.
Colbert, 358.
Colbert, Susie, 359.
Colbert, Wm., 259.
Davis, 319
Foote, Henry S., 323.
Green, Thomas M., 355.
Hays, Wiley, 356.
Hinds, Gen., Thos.. 320, 357.
Jackson, Gen., 317, 319, 320, 355, 357,
Jones, E. R., 355.
Jordan, Sheriff, 355.
Killingsworth, W. A., 356.
LeFleur, Louis, 358.
LeFlore, Greenwood, 358.
Leftwich, Senator, 360.
Lewis, J. A., 361.
May, James, 356.
McCollum, Jno, 358.
Mitchell, Samuel, 359.
Quitman, Jno. A., 319, 324.
Robards, Mrs., 355.
Sharkey, W. L., 324.
Sutton, John, 356.
Ward, Col. Wm., 322.
Whitney, Ely, 318.
Nichols, A. D., 308.
Nichols, Irby C., 295.
Nichols, J. D., 307.
Nix, 100.
Noel, Gov., E. F., 9. 63, 64, 67, 331.
Nolley, Richmond, 349.
Norman, Willis, 207.
Norwood, W. L., 263.

O

Od'neil, Robt., 127.
Oldshoe, 121.
Oldshue, James, 100.
Oliver, Elbert, 305.
Oliver, J. S., 299.
Oliver, Wm., 298.
Oliver, W. R., 306, 313.
O'Neal, Dick, 213, 218, 219.
Ord, General, 171, 179, 314.
Organizations, Leake County, 283.
Organizations, Newton County, 219.
O'Riley, General, 34.
Osborn, J. N., 177.
Owners of Slaves, Leake County, 291.
Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in Lawrence County, 201.
Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in Monroe County, 158.
Owners of Slaves, Newton County. 228.
Owners of Slaves, Pontotoc County, 264.
Ozone, U., 307.

P

Page, Alec, 117, 130, 131.
Page, W. M., 107, 157.
Paine, Bishop Robt., 152.
Paines, 97.
Pannel, George, 284.
Parkman, S. E., 169, 170, 199, 200.
Parke, 130.
Parrott, Allen J., 273.
Parties and Party Leaders, Leake County, 276.
Parties and Party Leaders, Newton County, 209.
Party Leaders, 114.
Party Strength, Registration and Population, 316.
Peas, Henry, 200.

Pearce, Jim, 133.
Pemberton, Gen., 333.
Pennington, George, 123, 147.
Pepper, E. M., 173, 200.
Perce, Col. Leo, 187, 200.
Perkins, G. W., 299.
Perry, Maj. J. J., 208.
Perry, Sim, 217.
Personal Property Taxable, 198.
Peters, 88.
Peyton, E. G., 187.
Phelan, James, 99.
Phemster, Miss Isabell, 139.
Phillips, Mrs. W. L., 252.
Pickle, Alf, 157.
Pickle, Geo., 157.
Pickles, James, 306.
Pinson, 230.
Pinson, Col. R. A., 234, 242, 253.
Pinson, Samuel, 263.
Pitchlyn, Maj. Jno., 325, 327, 373.
Pitts, 230.
Pitts, D. F., 233.
Pitts, J. W., 243, 244.
Poindexter, George, 355, 409.
Pollard, Judge Austin, 248.
Polk, Gen. Leonidas, 333, 334.
Political Campaigns and Elections, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 183.
Political Parties and Leaders, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 167.
Pontotoc County Party Organizations and Leaders, 232.
Pontotoc County Population, 264.
Pontotoc County Population of Minor Civil Divisions, 265.
Pontotoc County, Reconstruction, in, 229.
Agricultural Statistics, 266.
Alcorn, Gov., 242.
Ames, Adelbert, 241, 242.
Appendix A, 263.
Appendix B, 264.
Assessed Valuation, etc., 268.
Aycock, Jim, 250.
Balls, 230.
Baker, W. E., 256.
Barr, Sawney, 256, 257.
Bateman, C. D., 255.
Bell, 230.
Bell, W. W., 235, 241, 245.
Benson, Mrs. Martha, 252.
Bigham, 230.
Black, Mr., 258.
Blackburn, Rev., 254.
Bolton, 230.
Bolton, J. C., 255.
Bowen, Jno., 241.
Bowen, J. W., 263.
Bowles, C. F., 263.
Bradford, 230.
Bradford, Judge, 234.
Bradford, Maj. Gen. Jno. C., 232.
Browning, Elisha, 243.
Bruce, B. K., 234.
Burton, J. M., 240, 263.
Caldwells, 230.
Campaign Methods, 236.
Carr, 230.
Carr, O. C., 243.
Carrol, Mrs. A. A., 256.
Cheney, Jno., 242, 263.
Chisholm, Frank H., 254, 258.
Churches, 269.
Clarke, 230.
Clarke, Dr. W. B., 251.
Clarke, Gov. Charles, 259.
Clarke, Mrs. W. B., 252.
Cochran, Anderson, 256.
Cochram, A. J., 256.
Cofe, Lieut. F. R., 240.
Coffee, Mary F., 256.
Coffee, Mary E., 256.
Cole, Sarah, 258.
Colums, Harry, 252.
Combs, J. W., 256, 263.
Conkey, Prof., 257.
Curr, Dr., 253.
Dandridge, 230.
Dandridge, Nathan, 254.
Day, Polly, 258.
Dent, Jack, 254, 256.
Doggetts, 230.
Dowdy, 244.
Dowdy, W. W., 263.
Duke, 230.
Duke, Henry, 234, 245, 262.
Duke, Sam, 242, 263.
Dye, W. A., 256.
Economic Conditions, 259.
Educational Conditions, 255.
Farms, Sizes, etc., 265.
Featherstun, Gen., 250.
Flourney, Col. R. W., 231, 234, 235, 236, 248, 250, 253.
Fountaine, 230.
Fountaine, Col. C. D., Sr., 233, 249, 262.

Fountaine, C. D., Jr., 233, 236, 243, 247, 250.
Fountaine, Col. James B., Sr., 247.
Fountaine, J. D., 233.
Fountaine, Jess, 254.
Forrest, Gen. N. B., 243, 244, 246.
French, Mr. and Mrs., 258.
Frierson, Prof. W. V., 258.
Fuller, W. M., 256.
Gambrel, W. C., 256.
General Manufacturing Statistics, 266.
Gholson, 230.
Gibson, N. J., 243, 263.
Gilmer, W. B., 238, 251.
Gilmore, Billie, 254.
Gordon, 230.
Gordon, Col. James, 232, 236, 246, 262.
Government, 239.
Grant, Wren, 258.
Greene, Gen., 241.
Griffin, T. H., 263.
Hanis, Ned, 254.
Harris, Ned, 258.
Harvell, Ben, 255.
Herring, Col. J. B., 231.
Herring, E., 240, 241, 263.
Herrons, 230.
Higler, J. M., 263.
Hill, Judge, H. A., 250.
Hooker, Wm. B., 240, 263.
Hooper, W. P., 245, 263.
Horton, G. G., 241, 263.
Hoyle, J. M., 245, 263.
Huckleby, Abe, 251.
Huckstickler, Gen., 247.
Hulinsci, Capt., 240.
Hunter, J. J., 243, 263.
Jumper, W. G., 256.
Ku Klux Klan, 246.
Lamar, L. Q. C., 235, 236.
Langston, R. A., 263.
Lawrence, St. Clair, 256.
Listenby, Robt., 238.
Lyles, W. L., 240, 263.
Martin, 230.
Malone, C. C., 245, 263.
Mayhew, A. M., 256.
McKee, Sheriff, 238, 251.
McNeil, John, 263.
McNeill, 230.
McVey, L. D. T., 243.
McWarter, B. F., 263.
McWorter, B. F., 240.
Members of Board of Police, etc., 263.
Miller, 230.
Miller, Col. Hugh R., 231.
Miller, Ed, 242, 263.
Miller, R. A., 243, 244, 263.
Mitchell, F. A., 240.
Mitchell, Hon. C. B., 236, 240, 244.
Mitchell, T. A., 239, 263.
Mitchells, 230.
Montgomery, T. E., 256.
Moore, A. J., 243, 244, 263.
Morphis, Joseph L., 231, 235, 240, 263.
Nativity of Population, 265.
Neeley, W. M., 241, 242, 263.
Newton, Bill, 258.
Norwood, W. L., 263.
Owners of Slaves, etc., 264.
Phillips, Mrs. W. L., 252.
Pinson, 230.
Pinson, Col. R. A., 234, 242, 253.
Pinson, Samuel, 263.
Pitts, 230.
Pitts, D. F., 233.
Pitts, J. W., 243, 244.
Pollard, Judge Austin, 248.
Pontotoc County Party Oganizations and Leaders, 232.
Pontotoc County Population, 264.
Pontotoc County Population of Minor Civil Divisions, 265.
Potter, C. O., 263.
Purvine, D. S., 241, 263.
Ragland, 253.
Railsback, 253.
Ray, 230.
Religious Conditions of the Freedman, 253.
Rivers, J. L., 240, 263.
Rivers, J. S., 239.
Robertson, S. M., 240, 241, 263.
Robins, Jos. A., 263.
Rogers, B. A., 263.
Rogers, Willis, 259.
Roseman, J. B., 242.
Saddler, Pleas., 234.
Sale, 244.
Sauter, Frank, 240, 263.
Schools, etc., 268.
Selected Manufacturing Statistics, 267.
Senators and Representatives, 263.
Sewells, 230.
263.

Sharkey, Gov., 239.
Shoup, J. C., 240, 263.
Sloan, J. N., 242.
Smith, Elijah, 250.
Smiths, 230.
Souter, W. L., 243, 244, 263.
Souters, 230.
Stark, Jake, 250.
Stegall, 230.
Stewart, Rev., 254.
Stockstill, Thomas, 240, 241, 263.
Tucker, General W. F., 236, 237.
Tuckers, 230.
Tutor, Henwell, 252.
Weatherall, Harry, 258.
Wells, H. B., 244.
West, Rev. O. D., 257.
Wharton, C. R., 240, 263.
Whites, 230.
Willis, J. W., 263.
Wilson, 230.
Wilson, I. P., 243.
Wilson, Jefferson, 240, 263.
Wilson, Tom, 239.
Wilson, T. B., 256.
Williams, J. M., 243, 244, 263.
Wingo, O. P., 242, 243, 263.
Winston, Dr., 251.
Witherspoon, Rev. D. T., 257.
Wood, S. H., 240, 263.
Wright, Henry, 258.
Youngs, 230.
Population of Monroe County, 158.
Population, Jefferson Davis County, 198.
Population of Leake County, 291.
Population in Newton County, 226.
Population Statistics, Lawrence County, 201.
Potter, C. O., 263.
Powell, S., 306, 307.
Powers, A. F., 313.
Powers, Lieut. Gov. B. C., 200.
Powers, R. C., 305.
Pratt, 283.
Prentiss, S. S., 100.
Preston, 284.
Preston, President J. R., 9.
Pride, Wm. W., 379.
Prewett, 97.
Proceedings Tenth Public Meeting Mississippi Historical Society, 9.
Puckett, 100.
Puckett, E. F., 103.
Pullen, Wiley A., 215.
Pulliam, Mrs., 100.
Pulkin, J. P., 299.
Purvine, D. S., 241, 263.

Q

Quarles, Mr. W. B., 136.
Quitman, Jno. A., 319, 324.

R

Race Conflicts, 216.
Ragland, 253.
Ragsdale, Tom, 119.
Railsback, 253.
Raines, Samuel, 299, 313.
Raines, Wm. M., 209.
Randle, J. G., 97.
Randolph, Edmund, 49.
Randle, Sidney, 97.
Rankin, Christopher, 355.
Rankin, Jno., 300, 305.
Ransom, 100.
Ranson, Mr., 88.
Ray, 230.
Rayburn, Capt., 207.
Rayneval, 43.
Rayner, Kenneth, 305, 306.
Razell, Y. P., 299.
Reconstruction in DeSoto County, 295.
Reconstruction in Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 163.
Reconstruction in Leake County, 271.
Reconstruction in Monroe County, 103.
Reconstruction in Newton County, 205.
Reconstruction in Pontotoc County, 229.
Redwood, W. H., 144.
Reeves, Sam, 149.
Registration of Voters, Lawrence and Jefferson Davis Counties, 200.
Religious Conditions of the Freedmen, Pontotoc County, 253.
Report of Committee on—
Necrology, 10, 14.
Resolutions, 11.
Nominations, 11.
Report of Secretary, 11.
Reynolds, 206.

Reynolds, Colonel R. O., 88, 97, 99, 101, 106, 115, 132, 146, 147.
Reynolds, R. C., 155.
Reynolds, W. L., 299.
Revels, Rev. H. R., 186.
Rice, J. M., 113, 114.
Richardson, H., 306.
Richards, Rev. Thos. C., 368.
Riley, Dr. J. S., 135, 136, 145, 149.
Riley, Franklin, L., 9, 12, 31, 61, 67, 193.
Riley, W. F., 118.
Ripley, Gen., 408.
Rivers, J. L., 240, 263.
Rivers, J. S., 239.
Robards, Mrs., 355.
Robertson, Chas., 299.
Robertson, C. H., 305.
Robertson, Jno., 306.
Roberson, Norvel, 199.
Robertson, Wm., 199, 200.
Robertson, S. M., 240, 241, 263.
Roberts, J. S., 123.
Robins, Jos. A., 263.
Robinson, Hon. V. Otis, 9.
Roby, Dr., 281.
Rogers, B. A., 263.
Rogers, Ex-Judge F. M., 99, 102.
Rogers, Joseph, 297, 312, 314.
Rogers, Willis, 259.
Roseman, J. B., 242.
Ross, 100, 283.
Ross, John, 200.
Ross, Senator, 56.
Ross, Simeon, 199, 200.
Rover, Colonel, 93, 102.
Rowan, Dr. E. A., 189.
Rowland, Mrs. Dunbar, 345.
Rushing, B. S., 273, 290.
Rushing, Ned, 275, 276, 282, 283, 287.
Rushing, Strickland, 276.
Rushing, W. S., 290.
Russell, Green, 276.
Russell, T., 213.

S

Saddler, Pleas., 234.
Sale, 244.
Sale, Jno. B., 99.
Sampson, Thomas, 415.
Sandal, Dan, 208.
Sanders, David Ward, Life and Services of, 331.
Brook, Hon. Walker, 332.
Brownlaw, Mil. Gov., 338.
Cheatham, Gen. Frank, 338.
Corse, Gen., Jno. M., 335.
Darby, Dr., 337.
Dulaney, Col. Dan'l M., 331.
Forrest, Gen., 337.
Foster, Maj. Gen. Jno. G., 332.
Freeman, Lieut. E. T., 337.
French, Gen., 332, 334, 335, 336.
Grant, Gen., 333.
Haldeman, Walter, 338.
Hampton, Lieut., 337.
Hood, Gen. Jno. B., 334, 355, 336, 337, 338.
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 332, 333, 334.
Lee, Gen. 332.
Longstreet, Gen., 332.
McPherson, Gen., 334.
Military Observations and Experiences, 332.
Miller, Mrs. Walter C., 342.
Noel, Gov. E. F., 331.
Pemberton, Gen., 333.
Polk, Gen. Leonidas, 333, 334.
Schofield, Gen., 336, 338.
Sherman, Gen., 333, 334, 335.
Stephens, Miss Anne, 332.
Stewart, Lieut. Gen., 334.
Stoors, Maj. George S., 337.
Taylor, Dick, 338.
Thomas, Gen., 336.
Turtelock, Lieut. Col., 335.
Walthall, Gen., 337.
Sanders, Frank, 100.
Sanders, Gov., 63.
Sanders, Henry, 285.
Sanders, M., 290.
Sanders, R. L., 218.
Sandridge, A. G., 305.
Sandridge, J. O., 303.
San Lorenzo, Treaty of, 50.
Scallan, Lieut. James, 409.
Scanlan, T. M., 210, 213, 221.
Scanlans, 206.
Schermerhorn, Jno. F., 365, 368, 369, 271.
Schofield, Gen., 336, 338.
Schools, etc., Pontotoc County, 268.
School Statistics of Monroe County, 161.
Schuyler, 44, 47.
Scott, Jno. A., 313, 314.
Seaverson, 141.

Secret Organizations, Monroe County, 126.
Secretary, Report of, 11.
Selected Manufacturers of Monroe County, 160.
Selected Manufacturing Statistics for Lawrence County, 203.
Selected Manufactures of Pontotoc County, 267.
Senators and Representatives, Pontotoc County, 263.
Sessions, Frank, 208.
Settle, Howard, 124.
Seviers, 272.
Sewells, 230.
Shands, G. D., 296, 305, 306, 308.
Sharkey, Governor, 208, 239, 273. 324.
Sharkey, W. L., 107, 299.
Shelbourne, Lord, 43.
Shepard, A. A., 199.
Sheriffs, DeSoto County, 314.
Sherman, 207.
Sherman, Gen., 333, 334, 335.
Short, Mr., 47, 48, 49.
Shoup, J. C., 240, 263.
Shows, Monroe, 194.
Side, J. W., 314.
Simpson, Miss, 94, 100.
Simpson, M., 290.
Sims, B. C., 144.
Sims, Dr. Ben, 88, 97.
Sims, Jno. B., 101.
Simmons, J. P., 112.
Sinclair, Thos., 200, 303.
Singleton, Col. O. R., 282.
Sketch of Captain Robert E. Houston, 18.
Sketch of Bishop Charles B. Galloway, 19.
Sketch of General Stephen Dill Lee, 16.
Sketch of Judge S. S. Calhoon, 15.
Sketch of Hon. Murray F. Smith, 17.
Skinner, Alf., 133.
Sloan, J. N., 242.
Smith, A. W., 299, 305, 313.
Smith, Elijah, 250.
Smith, Hon. Murray F., Sketch of, 17.
Smith, Isaiah, 182, 200.
Smith, Pason, 175, 199.
Smith, Rev. Jedediah, 373, 381.
Smith, Rev. M. S., 9.
Smiths, 97, 206, 230.
Smyth, James S., 290.
Snowden, Lieutenant Gus, 102.
Snowden, Walter, 102.
Souters, 230.
Souter, Frank, 240, 263.
Souter, W. L., 243, 244, 263.
Spann, Mr. Eyre, 87.
Stafford, Col. E., 187.
Stamper, Martin W., 210, 211.
Stark, Jake, 250.
St. Clair, Gov., 56.
Stegall, 100, 230.
Stephens, Miss Anne, 332.
Stevens, J. A., 299.
Stewart, Lieut. Gen., 334.
Stewart, Rev., 254.
Stith, James, 124.
Stockdale, Thos. R., 186, 200.
Stockstill, Thomas, 240, 241, 263.
Stockton, A. M., 157.
Stockton, R. M., 108.
Stockton, R. N., 111.
Stokes, A. W., 309, 312.
Stone, R. B., 138.
Straus, Hon. Oscar S., 64.
Strawhorn, Tom, 94.
Strickland, Pat., 306.
Strong, Charley, 101.
Strong, George, 124, 157.
Strongs, 97.
Stuart, Mrs. M. J., 400.
Stuart, Rev. T. C., 378, 382, 386, 397, 398.
Stubbs, Jim, 285.
Summers, Hezekiah, 199.
Summey, Strong and King, 96.
Sutton, John, 356.
Swann, C. S., 208, 209, 212.
Swann, James, 180.
Swansey, J. T., 107, 157.
Swayze, Rev. Samuel, 381.
Sykes, A. J., 115, 147.
Sykes, Captain E. O., 95, 97, 106, 115, 121, 122, 132, 144, 147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 154.
Sykes, Captain Lum, 102.
Sykes, Dr. Gus, 106.
Sykes, Mr. W. A., 140.
Sykes, T. B., 106, 155.

T

Tarbell, Judge, 218.
Tate, Thos. S., 307, 312.
Tatum, Jno. R., 307.

Tax Statistics, DeSoto County, 315.
Taxes and Public Debts, Leake County, 292.
Taxes and Public Debts, Newton County, 227.
Taylor, Dick, 338.
Taylor, Frank, 275.
Taylor, Mrs., 179.
Temple, Robt., 311.
Terrell, B. M., 100.
Thatcher, Miss, 373.
The Mississippi River as a Political Factor in American History, 31.
Thomas, Amiss, 45, 46.
Thomas, Gen., 336.
Thomas, W. C., 109, 157.
Thompson, A., 314.
Thompson, Hon. R. H., 9, 171.
Thompson, M. B., 112.
Thornton, Jno. T., 306.
Thornton, M. A., 305, 306, 314.
Tindall, Dr. John L., 89, 97.
Tindall, Mr., 88.
Tingle, Tom, 208.
Tilden, 308.
Treadwell, D., 290.
Treaty of San Lorenzo, 504.
Trice, J. M., 115, 147.
Troup, W. W., 109, 115, 147, 157.
Truland, 96.
Tucker, General W. F., 236.
Tucker, Hal, 125.
Tucker, John, 125.
Tucker, W. T., 216.
Tuckers, 230.
Turberville, 100.
Turbeville, J. W., 100.
Turner, Edward, 355.
Turner, G. P. M., 132.
Turtlelock, Lieut. Col., 335.
Tutor, Henwell, 252.

V

Vanadales, 272.
Vance, Judge, 309.
Vances, 206.
Vannerson, Judge Wm., 171, 199.
Varnum, 373.
Vasser, Colonel, 133.
Vasser, Maj. Wm. H., 88, 97, 200.
Veasey, W. J., 305, 313.
Vergennes, 42, 43.
Vick, Thomas, 349.

W

Waddell, E. B., 171, 173, 191, 196, 199, 200.
Waite, Dr. J. C., 299.
Walker, 303, 305.
Walker, James, 299.
Walker, J. C., 305.
Walker, Mat, 306.
Walker, W. H., 305.
Walkers, 206.
Wallace, Gen., 312.
Wallace, Judge, 99.
Wallace, R. L., 278, 290.
Walthall, E. C., 305, 337.
Walton, 97.
Walton, 308.
Walton, Bill, 93.
Walton, C. W., 107, 157.
Walton, D. A., 124.
Walter, H. W., 132.
Walton, Wm., 110, 113, 124.
Walton, W. D., 115, 127.
Walton, W. L., 157.
Wamble, Abram, 130.
Wamsley, Dr. J. E., 9.
Ward, 97.
Ward, Capt. Joe, 102.
Ward, Col. Wm., 322.
Ward, Dr. B. N., 278.
Wards, 206.
Ware, D., 208.
Ware, J. A., 208.
Warren, Berthur, 274, 276, 277, 278, 290.
Warren, Henry, 276, 277, 278.
Warren, H. H., 275.
Warners, 272.
Washington, Gen., 45, 49.
Watkins, J. S., 111, 124.
Watkins, Ruth, 205.
Watkins, Spencer, 109, 157.
Watlington, Mr., 99.
Watson, Jack, 283.
Watson, J. W. C., 305.
Watts, Judge John, 211, 218, 222.
Waynes, Gen., 56.
Weatherall, Harry, 258.
Weathersby, H., 200.
Weathersby, Mr. Will, 190.
Webb, May, 121.
Wells, A. W., 303.
Wells, G. Wiley, 117, 132.
Wells, H. B., 244.
West, O. F., 305.

West, Rev. O. D., 257.
Whaling, Harmon, 275.
Wharton, C. R., 240, 263.
Wheeler, L., 299.
Wheeler, T. W., 314.
White, F. B., 313.
White and Negro Illiteracy, Leake County, 293.
White and Negro Illiteracy in Monroe County, 268.
White and Negro Illiteracy in Lawrence County, 204.
White, Thos, W., 296, 309, 312.
Whites, 230.
Whitfield, Alf, 133.
Whitfield, Chief Justice Albert H., 95, 147, 157.
Whitfield, Dr. Needham, 97.
Whitney, Ely, 318.
Whitfield, Holmes, 99.
Whitfields, 97.
Wicks, Jno., 150.
Wightman, James, 94, 96.
Wilkes, Mr., 96, 97.
Wilkinson County, Evolution of, 75-86.
Conditions of Lands and Population, 79-82.
Early Settlers, 79
Effect of Civil War, 82-85.
Some Extraneous Incidents, 75-79.
Wilkinson, Gen., 47, 366.
Wilkinson, Robt., 312.
Willard, L. G., 313.
Williams, Ed, 124.
Williams, Isaac, 199.
Williams, J. M., 243, 244, 263.
Williams, L. D., 290.
Williams, L. S. and wife, 370. 372, 373, 396.
Williams, Miss Jennie, 276.
Williams, Mr., 170.
Williams, Newnan, 102.
Williams, R. J., 274, 290.
Williams, Stephen, 299.
Willis, 100.
Willis, Arter, 127.
Willis, A. W., 200.
Willis, J. W., 263.
Willis, Lafayette, 111, 115.
Willis, Maj. Perrin, 408, 409.
Willis, Plummer, 115, 149.
Wilroy, W. J., 313.
Wilroy, W. W., 299.
Wilson, 230.
Wilson, 306.
Wilson, I. P., 243.
Wilson, Jefferson, 240, 263.
Wilson, N., 299.
Wilson, Tom, 239.
Wilson, T. B., 256.
Wingo, O. P., 242, 243, 263.
Winkler, 95.
Winston, Dr., 251.
Winston, Mr., 72.
Winter, Floyd, 107, 157.
Wiseman, Theodore, 208, 301.
Witherspoon. Rev. D. T., 257.
Witzel, H. M., 68, 69.
Wofford, J. L., 303.
Wolfe, 105.
Wood, 286.
Wood, Andrew, 147.
Wood, S. H., 240, 263.
Wood, W. H., 274, 290.
Woods, 88.
Woods, Jno. W., 305.
Woodmansee, W. B., 120, 121, 126 143.
Woodward, Wm., 208.
Word, 88.
Wright, Alfred, 379.
Wright, G. B., 306.
Wright, Henry, 258.
Wynn, S. L., 306.

Y

Young, 305.
Young, Capt. H., 408.
Young, Chess, 110, 124.
Youngs, 230.
Younkin, S. W., 193.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Judge S. S. Calhoon.....Facing page 15

General Stephen D. Lee.....Facing page 16

Hon. Murray F. Smith.....Facing page 17

Captain Robert E. Houston.....Facing page 18

Bishop Charles B. Galloway.....Facing page 21

Map of Mississippi-Louisiana Boundary Line Facing page 61

Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, D. D.....Facing page 395